

243 and none at all to stop attacks of weevils or bee-
251 tles. There are no mechanical corn shellers in
Cherán, and bulk sales of unshelled maize are
often made. Small amounts may be shelled
for sale to storekeepers if there is need of a
few cents in cash. One common method of
shelling corn is to bind corn cobs tightly with
wire or cord to make a bundle about 12 inches
in diameter. Maize ears are laid on the floor
and rolled with this crude implement.

Black maize usually is not completely
husked. Instead, pairs of ears are tied to-
gether and hung over poles in the house. The
best ears are often hung on a pole on the
veranda. Good field ears may also be hung in
the house. Most black corn is consumed as
[252] roasting ears. Otherwise it is usually saved
[196] to make tamales in Easter week.

Discussion of land values, maize yields, and
labor costs is deferred to the section on
economics.

WHEAT

243 Wheat lands may be fertilized by hiring
[231] sheep to bed at night on wheat fields. Lands
are plowed once before planting, and the seed
is then sown broadcast. The land is then
plowed lightly a second time, the furrows being
at right angles to the first. Thorny brush,
such as wild crab apple, is weighted and
dragged across the furrows to break up large
clods and to complete covering of the seed.

Some persons say only one kind of wheat is
grown at Cherán, a type planted between
September and November and maturing during
the dry season. However, both bearded and
beardless varieties were observed. Moreover,
a few families have a so-called winter wheat
[821] ("winter" in Cherán is the rainy season, tech-
nically our summer) which is planted before
the rainy season and matures in August or
September. The more commonly grown wheat,
it is said, would not survive so much water.
Some other Tarascan towns near Tangancicu-
aro are reported to grow a reddish-colored
wheat.

The dry-season wheat is short-stalked and
often grows very sparsely. Moreover, most
wheat is grown on inferior sloping lands or
lands on which corn does not do well. Rains
often appear to be inadequate to produce a

[p.57a]

184 Maize stalks, chewed as a sweet to a greater
262 extent than in Cherán.

Salt-rising bread made by one baker once a week. It sells at 10 centavos a piece.

The daily adult consumption of corn was estimated at three-eighths of a liter.

[264] In Angáhuau, a large, isolated, and conservative western sierra town, two meals daily are also the rule. The usual hours are 10 a. m. and 6 p. m. Children and sick people may also eat tortillas or cold kurúndas at other hours. Tortillas are made by only a few women, the kurúnda taking its place. The kurúnda here is not wrapped in the maize leaf (k'an) but in the husk of the ear (šarákata).

[251] The beef broth (šuripo) is made for preference from slightly spoiled meat or dried meat. (This is also true at Paricutin.) As there are no butchers in Angáhuau, butchering is done at home. Some of the meat is sold; the rest is cut in strips, rubbed with salt, and dried on the house roofs.

● [196] The agwákata tamale is made with beans like that of Cherán. It is eaten only for the fiestas of Candelaria (February 2), Carnival, Santa Cruz (May 3), Corpus, and at weddings.

[252] Máskuta is a *posole* made of boiled black maize (širáns), boiled beans, silantro, and chile. A little dough of ground black corn is added as thickening. This is served to guests at New Year's and at the fiestas in December and July. At New Year's the *posole* is accompanied by huge kurúndas weighing about 2 kilos.

272 Little milk is consumed. However, the town
184 produces enough cheese for export.

[273] *Agua miel* is consumed in season. Pulque is little liked. A common drink is "*tepache*" (šarápe), which is slightly alcoholic.²⁰ It is made of barley, boiled in water and left in the water for a week. Carbonate and sweetening are then added.

Papaya juice is drunk and the seeds are toasted and eaten.

262 Men working in the fields or woods often
184 carry maize on the cob which they shell and
252 toast by a fire. This is called "*esquite*" (guanito). They also carry "*esquite*" from home already prepared and mixed with brown sugar.

²⁰ In Oaxaca, "*tepache*" is pulque reinforced with brown sugar and is more than "slightly" alcoholic.

511

tures, there will also be less frequent ones. In the life time of the average family, a house and kitchen will have to be bought or built. By usual Cherán standards, this will mean a capital expenditure of \$170 to \$450. Animals must be replaced from time to time, an item difficult to estimate, but probably involving capital expenditures of around \$200 every 10 years as a minimum.

[796]

Periodic expenditures will also include a blanket every few years at about \$20, reroofing of house and kitchen every 10 years or so at a cost of about \$40, an occasional *mayordomía*, and the expenses of weddings, births, and deaths. Finally, there are taxes on property and contributions to the church. All these are impossible to estimate accurately with the available data. A *mayordomía*, for example, may vary from an outlay of perhaps \$15 or \$20 for Mass, candles, and ornaments for the altar in the house to a cash expenditure of about \$500 for the *mayordomía* of Nochebuena plus extensive use of maize and butchering of animals etc. belonging to the *mayordomo*. Weddings likewise may vary enormously according to economic resources, but may run up as high as \$500 in cash outlay. In addition, there are the innumerable occasions when one must participate in weddings, roofing or house-moving fiestas, etc., each of which involves more or less expensive gifts aside from possible contributions of labor.

The above factors suggest that a Cherán family of five in about average circumstances makes a total outlay on consumption goods of not less than \$500 a year if such capital expenditures as housing are allowed for. This does not include the value of home-produced foods. Many families unquestionably have a much smaller cash outlay than the amount suggested, but, equally certainly, some families spend more. Furthermore, these estimates assume that the family has inherited all the land it needs and is not making any expenditures for land purchases.

The preceding considerations suggest that insufficient attention has been paid to the quantity of exports and the movement of money in Cherán economy. Such data are difficult but not impossible to secure, although a considerable margin of error must be expected.

632 12 men under the orders of the *barrio* chief.
 625 The latter has the duty of notifying individuals
 when they are to serve. Each *barrio* provides the
ronda for a week in turn, and each individual
 serves a week every time he is called. Theoretically,
 every adult male is expected to perform
 this service, but the men over 40 or 50 years and
 persons of some distinction are seldom if ever
 asked. One of the assistants in the project,
 member of the committee in charge of communal
 property and a school teacher, had not
 been asked to serve for several years. Neither
 do the storekeepers serve; instead, they give a
 package of cigarettes or some 10 centavos to
 those who do serve. There is no obligation,
 [431] nor any regularity, about this gift. The average
 man who is asked to serve probably is called
 on four or five times a year.

632 *Comisionados* may also be named if funds
 651 are to be raised for some special municipal
 purpose. The purpose may be to send a delegation
 to Morelia or Mexico City to look after the
 interests of the town in some affair, or to purchase
 material for some public work for which funds
 are not available in the treasury, such as the
 materials for the water tanks. This may happen
 twice in a year or may not occur at all. The
comisionados are charged with collecting the
 money in their *barrio* or whatever area is
 designated.

796 There are many *comisionados* in connection
 632 with fiestas. For the fiesta of the patron saint
 in October, some 70 *comisionados* are named
 to raise funds for music, fireworks, and other
 expenses of the fiesta. A group is named by
 the mayor for each *barrio*, and it has the responsibility
 of raising money through taking up a collection
 (or members paying out of their own pockets),
 conducting negotiations with musicians or fireworks
 makers, and seeing that the work is completed.
 In addition, four men are commissioned each
 to provide a more dancer. The *comisionado* has to
 [835] seek out a dancer, pay for his food and costume,
 and take care of him during the fiesta. Finally,
 at least 40 young men (10 or more from each
barrio) are commissioned to provide poles for
 building the bull ring. The total for this fiesta
 is not less than 114 *comisionados*.

For the fiesta of Corpus, eight *comisionados*
 are named for each *barrio* for each occupation

632 represented in the fiesta. Each major tradi-
 796 tional occupation is required to hire a band, and
 the *comisionados* must raise the money by tak-
 ing up a collection or by paying out of their
 own pockets. A separate set of *comisionados*
 is named to take up another collection to hire
 music for the celebration of the Octava. Vol-
 untary service is also given by the bee hunters.
 The total *comisionados* for this fiesta probably
 reaches 250. *Comisionados* for a fiesta often
 put in many days of labor.

632 One final type of *comisionado* should be men-
 796 tioned: the men named to do communal labor.
 Probably every eligible man has to put in 2
 or 3 days a year on such work. This may
 be for work assigned to a *barrio*, or it may be
 some community-wide program such as cutting
 poles for the erection of an electric light system.

At a rough estimate, probably each man
 eligible for commissions gives about 14 days or
 nights of service a year to the community, if it
 be taken into account that about half the adult
 males are exempt for reason of age or service
 such as office holding, school teaching, store
 keeping, etc. However, the work is probably
 very unevenly distributed, for there is no sys-
 tematic method of assignment. A person who
 raises many objections or who is not in proper
 economic condition may evade many commis-
 sions. For example, no right-minded mayor
 would commission a poverty-stricken man to
 bring out a *moro*. Consequently, persons who
 are conscientious and do not complain are apt
 to receive many more commissions than others.

632 *Reserva*.—The *reserva* consists of 11 men
 625 armed by the Government (State or Federal?)
 with modern weapons and, in 1940, captained
 by the real political boss of the town, Moisés
 Valencia. Although all were agreed that the
 11 were chosen by the people, no one seemed
 to have any idea of the mechanism of choice.
 In all probability the group was chosen in the
 same way Valencia was chosen political boss,
 through aggressiveness in defense of town in-
 terests and personal popularity. Even a town
 the size of Cherán does not need formal elective
 machinery at times in order to express popular
 will, as will be seen in the discussion of elections.
 During the disturbed period in Michoacán dur-
 ing the installation of President Camacho, the
 reserve received instructions from the military

579 nothing had been done. Probably more than personal motives lay back of the killing, but it was impossible to discover them.

583 Marriage customs are another frequent source of conflicts reaching the mayor. Ordinarily a boy "kidnaps" the girl he is going to marry. The kidnapping is public and usually nothing is done about it, but the boy may be forced to marry the girl if he does not go through with the ceremony in a reasonable time. Occasionally, though, the girl's relatives make so much commotion that the mayor has to act. [683] If the kidnapping has been "legitimate," that is, the boy intends to marry the girl, usually the men participating in the kidnapping are thrown in jail for 2 or 3 hours and released with an admonition, almost certainly given with tongue in cheek.

583 In other cases the matter may become more serious, especially if it is exploited by the girl. 684 One example will illustrate the situation.

A boy stopped to talk with a girl of dubious morals. When he left, she followed him, saying she was going home with him. The boy ran away and hid. Later in the day the girl's parents came to the mayor and claimed the boy had kidnapped the girl. The boy was ordered

[text continues on top of p. 116b]

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

771 Religion in Cherán revolves about the church and the formalized practices and beliefs associated with it. In addition, there is a lively belief in witchcraft, plus a body of miscellaneous and unorganized beliefs and customs. In the main, the organized ceremonials, aside from those associated with life crises, which are dealt with in another section, are linked with the church and are group or community affairs. The ceremonials and rituals connected with witchcraft and miscellaneous beliefs are primarily individual in character and are not organized in any way, although there is a certain gradation between the two types of ceremonial with respect to organization.

774 The church ceremonials and rituals are of four types. Central to the system are those church rituals and ceremonies which follow more or less conventional Mexican Catholic lines and are wholly under the direction of the

[text continues on middle of p. 116b]

583 to marry the girl by a certain date. He failed
684 to do so, as he wished to marry another girl
and knew also that the girl laying the charges
visited a house of assignation. He was thrown
in jail. Later, his mother went his bond and
he was released. The boy fled town and had
not returned several months later. His mother
was put in jail overnight but was released the
next day.

123 The preceding discussion is a very unsatis-
factory treatment of conflict situations and law.
671 Information on the unformalized personal and
familial conflicts is very scanty. Intimate day
to day knowledge of households which would
produce such information is extremely difficult
to secure in Cherán. On the other hand, not
enough detailed material was secured on the
types of conflicts reaching the *municipio* to
make possible any adequate statement regard-
ing legal concepts. In theory, the law in
Cherán is Mexican law. Enough examples
have perhaps been given to indicate that much
of the justice dispensed in the *municipio* is
according to informal and generally accepted
rules. Only observation of a very large num-
ber of cases would permit abstracting the prin-
ciples on which action is based.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

794 priest. The Mass, Rosary, confession, baptism,
796 confirmation, and so on all fall in this category.
A more or less conventional church organiza-
tion headed by a priest is almost solely respon-
sible for these ceremonies. Associated with
575 this part of the religious organization are the
various societies, such as those of the Sacred
Heart, Daughters of Mary, Apostles of Saint
Joseph, and the Third Order of Saint Francis.
Linked with the church organization in part is
the *cabildo* or the *añes*.

796 Forming a mixture of church and community
ceremonials are the fiestas. The organization
527 of fiestas is related to the political organization
and, aside from the Mass and strictly church
rituals, the fiestas are essentially secular cele-
brations centering round a religious object.

796 The *mayordomías* are the third important
type of religious ceremony and are connected with
the church through the *carguero* system and

796 dance groups dominated by the *cabildo* or the *añes*. Although a Mass in church is involved, the ceremonies are conducted primarily by laymen. The *añes* are related to the church organization proper on the one hand, and control the *carguero* system on the other.

The fourth and final type of ceremonial consists of *mayordomía* and dance groupings which are not under the control of the *añes*. In some cases connection with the church is maintained to the extent of paying for a Mass, but neither the priest nor the *añes* have any real control.

THE CHURCH

346 The physical aspect of the Church is represented by the church building, the priest's residence, and a chapel called the calvary. Formerly the physical structures were more extensive, including a second chapel at one side of the church, an extension of the priest's residence, and the hospital, now in ruins. As all the church property today belongs to the State, under the administration of the *municipio*, parts of these buildings and associated grounds have been taken over for other uses. Part of what was formerly the priest's residence now is used for the Federal rural school. The second chapel is used only in emergencies. It was employed as the church at a time when a new roof was being put on the church. At the time of this study it was rented to the tilemakers. The church building is revered to some extent: men lift their hats as they pass in front of it on the street.

[788] Maintenance of the structures still used by 794 the church organization and the priest depends 358 upon voluntary contributions by the faithful. The municipal organization spends no funds on repair or maintenance of the church structures, although it may spend money on the parts used for the school. Some of the extensive patios formerly associated with the church are used for recreational areas; others are still used by the priest and are cultivated by him. Two wooden structures occupy part of the grounds, one used as a storehouse for certain ceremonial equipment and one used by the *kéni*, an official of the *cabildo* or *añes*, as a residence.

346 The church building has obviously undergone a number of major alterations in its history. 358 Originally the church did not front on the

527 was transferred to the arcade on the north side of the plaza.

On October 3 (Wednesday in 1940), men brought their ox teams and plows into town, and all agricultural work ceased until at least Tuesday of the following week. On this day, also, people began arriving in numbers for the fiesta, including the first of the vendors.

527
443 Three or four, indeed, had arrived the day before, including three women with "a little religion"—medals, rosaries, votive offerings, pictures of saints, etc.—who had expected to stay in the house of the priest, but after learning of the change of priests, had to seek lodging in a private establishment. In addition to these women; there were the following: A street vendor, shouting "*Milagros, milagros de plata, muy barata,*" who offered votive offerings of various parts of the human anatomy made of what he claimed was silver; a seller of Guanajuato pottery; a few sellers of cloth; another seller of religious articles; and a number of hard-faced women preparing to open food and drink establishments. These were all placed together on a street a long block from the plaza. Some or all of the women evidently make a business of following fiestas, as I recognized some of them from fiestas at other towns. Their reputation in Cherán was very bad.

527
364 Some street cleaning began on this day. Trash was burned in the streets and the streets were swept. This is done voluntarily by the owners of property on the streets. The municipal authorities had the plaza swept and all surplus dirt and rocks from recent construction activities carried out of sight. The borders of the plaza walks were whitewashed and the benches painted a bright green. The benches were also repaired and set more firmly. The paid police did most of the work.

527
796 October 4, Friday, was the actual Saint's day. Rosary and Vespers were celebrated together the evening before from 7:30 to 9 o'clock. The big bell of the church was rung for about an hour afterward. At midnight of the 3d the Cherán band began to play and continued intermittently through the night. The members
[574] either were calling at the houses of persons named Francisco, who had to feed all visitors, or were hired by such persons to play a piece

527 or two. The big bell also began to ring about
 796 midnight and was rung intermittently all the
 rest of the night. Early in the morning there
 was a Low Mass and at 9 a. m. a High Mass.
 [793] These were performed by the priest as part of
 his duties and were not the special Masses paid
 for by the town. About noon a few members
 of the Cherán band gathered in front of the
 priest's house and played for a time, continuing
 intermittently the rest of the afternoon.

527 Much activity was under way in the plaza,
 [443] although the main market day would not be
 until Sunday. Vendors of shoes, clothing,
 cakes, candles, candy, apples, peanuts, chiles,
 dried fish, and painted wooden bowls in Quiroga
 style were added to those already present. A

[265] gambling game was set up. The booths for
 [275] the liquor and food shops were mostly set up on
 [548] this day. Comments implied that the girls
 running the booths were all prostitutes, but
 all the booths were completely open. In any
 case, the booths are the center for most of the
 drunkards and most of the fights and disorder
 associated with the fiesta. The *castillo* was
 nearly complete (pl. 6, upper left). On this
 day also, the church was cleaned up and decor-
 ated. A few began working at the bull ring,
 digging up old posts and clearing away weeds,
 while others transported new posts and logs
 from the various *barrios*.

[443] All day Saturday vendors arrived. Most of
 them merely located their space and unpacked
 their animals, but did not unpack their goods
 (pl. 5, upper left). A great many people
 arrived, and the plaza and nearby streets were
 crowded. A large carousel or merry-go-round
 [529] was set up in a patio behind the *municipio*,
 while a smaller one was placed on one of the
 side streets.

527 In the evening, shortly before dusk, the com-
 533 missioners and their assistants went to the
 calvary, the chapel at the east edge of town, to
 meet the bands coming from Nahuatzen and
 Pichataro. The bands had not arrived by dark,
 when one of the most violent thunderstorms
 anyone could remember deluged the party. It
 was said there were no ceremonies of greeting
 ordinarily and that the commissioners merely
 greeted their band and led it to one of the
 houses for supper. Certainly, there were no
 ceremonies that night.

527 Somewhat later, after the storm had subsided,
 533 the *chirimía* band arrived. Four or five players
 [534] on an oboelike wooden instrument (with a
 double reed mouthpiece and a number of finger
 stops) played in unison, accompanied by a
 drum. They played for some time in the arcade
 before the municipal building. The shrill
 music, played with great verve and noise,
 seemed vaguely familiar and finally became
 recognizable as the "Beer Barrel Polka." It
 remained the favorite and almost only piece
 played by the *chirimía* band throughout the
 fiesta.

527 Sunday the market was in full operation, and
 the plaza and adjoining streets were jammed
 with people (pl. 4, lower right). Not only
 were most of the residents of Cherán on the
 [443] streets, in some cases making extensive pur-
 [323] chases (this is the only time of the year that
 pottery is sold in Cherán, for example), but
 there were hundreds of visitors. The bands
 played early in the morning. The young men
 were busy working on the bull ring.

• [796] The High Mass was celebrated about 10
 o'clock, with the church filled to overflowing.
 527 About 12 o'clock the first moro appeared on
 535 horseback, followed in a short time by the
 other two. They rode slowly around the plaza,
 followed by one of the bands. After a short
 time the moros went to lunch without dancing.
 [574] Many people invited guests home to eat with
 them at this time, often issuing invitations well
 in advance. To a lesser extent, guests may be
 invited on other days of the fiesta. About 3
 o'clock the moros returned and sat on their
 horses in the plaza in front of the church while
 the bands played. The moros then went to the
municipio, dismounted, and danced in front of
 the building. Remounting, they returned to
 the church and danced in front of the church.
 Many people were openly critical of them for
 not dancing first in front of the church. After
 the performance in front of the church, the
 dancers went on foot down the main street,
 dancing in front of various stores until about
 6 o'clock, when they went to eat again. During
 [542] the afternoon a basketball game was played
 between Cherán and Paracho. It aroused little
 interest.

527 In the evening the big *castillo* or fireworks
 389 set was to be burned. Not until after dark

[P. 122a]

Sierra Tarascans

527 "Šejeta (look at it)" and "Piájeta (buy it)."
 543 Mock trade is carried on, using the small pieces
 198 of bread as money. This procedure continues
 until about 7 o'clock in the evening.

527 Often a group of young men will ask per-
 mission of the municipal authorities to collect
 541 the "*pisos de plaza*," that is, the tax on mer-
 chants for using the plaza (which is not col-
 lected by the *municipio* on this occasion). No
 one pays the young men in money, but instead
 in produce—miniature breads, miniature
 planks, a few bananas, etc. Other young men
 may secure permission to be the "bandits,"
los asaltadores. Both groups then arm them-
 selves with wooden pistols and rifles. When
 the first group has collected the "tax," it is
 assaulted by the second and the two pretend to
 fight, "shooting" at one another until the
 bandits have taken away part of the things
 secured by the tax collectors.

527 The Mass for this fiesta is celebrated on
 Thursday. I could not find out definitely who
 796 pays for the Mass, most informants hazarding
 the guess that there is a *carguero* or *mayor-
 domo* for this. On Monday, Wednesday, and
 Saturday there are no public functions. The
 musicians play in the houses of the different
 commissioners. There is no *castillo*, nor is
 there any bull riding.

FIESTA OF LA OCTAVA

527 The Octava occurs a week after Easter
 Saturday and is held on Saturday and Sunday
 443 only. It is primarily a commercial fair, re-
 sembling the fiesta of the patron saint on a
 smaller scale and without *castillo*, dancers, or
 bull riding. Five to eight commissioners are
 appointed for each *barrio* and they raise enough
 money to hire one band. The cost of the band
 is divided equally among the four *barrios*.
 No data were secured on the way in which Mass
 is paid.

527 The major feature of the fiesta is cock fight-
 541 ing. Usually a group interested in cock fight-
 ing hires a house near the center of town, puts
 up a ring and some benches, and conducts fairly
 organized matches. However, there are many
 other fights on street corners and in the patios
 of private houses. Beta are placed on the
 fights. Cocks are specially raised for fighting,
 but the Octava is the only time there are any

527 organized fights or any considerable amount of
541 betting. During 8 months I neither saw nor
heard of cock fighting except in connection
with the fiesta.

CARNIVAL

527 The Tuesday before the beginning of Lent,
[785] everyone fasts until noon. After breaking the
fast, the young men go about the streets,
some with musicians and some without. The
girls sit at the doors of their houses with
baskets of elaborately painted eggshells filled
with confetti which they have been saving for
several months. The boys buy the eggs from
the girls and then break them over the girls'
heads. The boys and girls also throw confetti
at one another and sometimes the boys get such
things as oranges and throw them at one
another. This is repeated on Wednesday and
is the only celebration of carnival.

LENT AND HOLY WEEK

796 Most of the population fast part of Lent.
[785] Some people fast until noon every day. Others
do this only two or three times. On Fridays
most people abstain from meat but otherwise
do not fast especially.

[624] Before Palm Sunday, the collector (an official
of the *cabildo*) visits the fathers of boys of
suitable age and selects a boy from each *barrio*.
When the boy and his father have accepted,
the boy picks a girl to assist him, usually his
sweetheart. The collector then visits the girl's
father and gets his consent. The boys now
[484] make a trip to the hot country to bring back
green palm leaves for use in the church on
Palm Sunday. Before leaving, each boy gives
the girl about half a hectoliter of maize, 5 liters
of black maize, and some brown sugar. The
[252] girl toasts the regular maize well, grinds it,
and makes large balls of the ground maize, or
pinole, and the brown sugar. These are
wrapped in leaves painted with many colors
with analine dyes. The black maize she makes
into *gorditos*, a sort of fried tortilla.

The boy also provides a wooden cross some
5 feet high. To this are fastened the balls of
pinole along the upright and the arms of the
cross. At the top of the cross and on the arms
are also hung many fiber bags (*morales*) and
small cloths used to wrap up tortillas. The

- 796 latter are given to the girl by her relatives. Her father and mother present her with 1 bag and 1 cloth, but the rest, as many as 20 of each, are presented by her grandparents and cousins. At the top of the cross and at the end of each arm are fastened small sprays of green palm. On Palm Sunday this cross is carried by the boy.

796 The girl carries a stick, usually of oak, about
492 2 yards high. Hung to this is every kind of fruit, especially tropical fruits, all provided by the boy. These may include a bunch of bananas, some coconuts, and perhaps a watermelon. Or the girl may carry a watermelon, together with some honeycombs, on her back. Often she can scarcely carry the load.

[62] There is much competition between the *barrios* in this regard (the only hint of *barrio* competition secured). Each looks to see which girl is most laden with things, which girl has been able to make the largest balls of pinole and decorate them best, and which has the most grandparents and cousins (and hence the most bags and tortilla cloths).

796 On the afternoon of Palm Sunday all go to the little rise in the road toward Nahuatzen (the road to the hot country) beyond the bridge at the edge of the town, and from there all go together to the church. The boy and girl from each *barrio* have their companions, all relatives. Those relatives of the girl who have given a bag or a cloth and those relatives of the boy who have given a honeycomb for the girl to carry are adorned with the *gorditos*. The four boys together will have hired musicians, and many others come to see and hear. About 4 o'clock they all reach the church; they go inside for a moment and then return home, where they divide the things among the relatives who have helped them or accompanied them. There is no special ceremony in the church on this day.

During Holy Week a Mass is held every day in the church. The Tenebrae are also represented. All the candles are put out. Sulfur is burned and bombs are exploded to represent the lightning. Then the candles are relighted with an ordinary wax match.

Thursday the image of Christ is placed in a cage of bars. It is guarded by a number of persons representing the Jews, who are dressed in common-colored women's dresses and hats

● 796 of *catucho* (a word I have not identified) and are carrying spears.

On Friday, the three times that Christ falls with the cross are represented with a cross and the image of Jesus of Nazareth. The cross is very large, but it is made of light materials, so it weighs little. The figure carrying the cross is put on a table, and it is manipulated from beneath the table to make it fall slowly and rise again. While the figure falls, the Jews pretend to beat it and mistreat it.

The Crucifixion is represented at a *velorio*. Three crosses, one bearing a crucified Christ, are placed upright in a corner of the church. The Jews pretend to beat the figure and injure it with their lances. Later in the same service the figure is lowered from the cross and placed in a special box. This represents the Holy Sepulcher and is guarded by the Jews.

On Saturday morning, 12 boys are placed in a corner near the altar. One of these washes the feet of the others. This act (obviously out of place in the chronology of events) is the only representation of the Twelve Apostles.

Some 20 years ago a somewhat more elaborate representation was given which included the portrayal of the garden of Gethsemane. Persons representing Pilate, Herod, and the Jews went about the plaza asking for Jesus. One, representing Judas, went up to a Christ image surrounded by branches and kissed the image. Jesus now answered, and the whole group fell down. Then they tore down the branches and took the image prisoner. Judas went around showing people the money he had received. On two occasions in the past the apocryphal incident of Veronica was also represented in connection with the three falls of Christ. After one of the falls, a girl pretended to wipe the face of the image with her handkerchief.

The activities in connection with Easter week are carried on by the persons attached to the church and the various societies. Nurukáta, laurel, is brought from the mountains in large quantities and is used to decorate the church during the week. After it has been "sanctified" it is taken home and kept in the houses. It may later be used for medicinal purposes. A special food for Easter week is

796 A special food for Easter week is
[262] tamales of black corn mixed with layers of
boiled beans milled on the metate.

MINOR FIESTAS

A number of calendrical church affairs receive minor attention. The day of San Juan, June 24, boys ride about the streets on horseback. Girls fasten live pigeons with cords, and men of the family raise and lower them from the housetops. The boys try to catch the pigeons. If they succeed and the pigeon survives, they take it home. If pigeons are not available, chickens of similar size are used. Christmas, New Year's, and the Day of Kings also receive special attention. As these functions are carried on by *cargueros* or *mayordomos*, their description is left until later. The Day of the Dead is also in some measure a community celebration. As has been noted, the *municipio* requires the young men to clean up the cemetery for this occasion. The actual ceremonies, however, are individual and are described in connection with the death rites.

SECULAR FIESTAS

527 A number of minor fiestas appear to be celebrated which have no religious motivation connected with the church. These are patriotic affairs and are not taken very seriously. On May 5 there is a procession with the band. The bells of the church are rung and *cohetes* are fired. On September 16, Independence Day, there are usually a parade, music, and perhaps a speech or two. A great many people get drunk over the week end, but there is little formal celebration. In 1940 the Cherán band went to Chilchota for the fiesta, and there was even less celebration than usual.

HOUSE-ROOFING FIESTA

342 Although most private fiestas are described
574 elsewhere, the fiesta celebrating the roofing of a house is described here because the data on house construction have been published in another paper (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944). A house-roofing fiesta is celebrated whenever the shakes are put on a new house. The following account describes the fiesta held by Pedro Chávez.

The house-roofing fiesta is virtually an obligation on the part of the house owner. He is

342 and are served. While all this is going on, a
574 few women start dancing.

Before the last arrivals finish eating, most of the women leave with the musicians to bring the *cuelgas* and to bring the relatives of the wife who had been preparing them. The *cuelgas* are women's narrow belts to which are tied pieces of bread in the shape of animals, mostly bulls, thin tortillas made of wheat, and paper flowers. There are also some figures of animals, such as birds and mules, made of painted corn husks and filled with *pinole* (parched corn flour). The house owner is decked with several of the *cuelgas*. Single *cuelgas* are also put on some 20 men present, including the master carpenter and various uncles and cousins of the house owner. (At the Chávez festival the mayor and his alternate arrived about this time.) They are not fed but are offered drinks. Everyone now starts to dance. Dancing and drinking continue until late at night.

[273] The host, on the occasion observed, drank very little. The following day his relatives returned with bottles, saying now he had really to drink with them. He did, for about 3 days.

FIESTAS IN OTHER TOWNS

796 A few data collected on fiestas from other towns may be of interest here. None of the data are complete in any respect, but some similarities and differences are apparent. Properly, many of the fiestas described are part of Cherán culture, for many people from Cherán attend them either as visitors or as participants. The band, of course, goes to many fiestas. Other people go to sell goods, barbers often go to pick up some business, and so on.

Like most Tarascans, the people of Cherán pay special reverence to the miraculous Christ of San Juan Parangaricutiro, perhaps better known as San Juan de las Colchas, a former Tarascan town but now primarily a Mestizo village some 15 miles west of Uruapan. Many Cherán residents take vows to make pilgrimages to the saint on September 14 for various reasons, for example, if they are going on a long journey. The father of Agustín made such a vow when he went to the United States. When he returned safely 27 years later, he kept his

796 vow at the first opportunity. Of course, as all thrifty Tarascans would, he also made the event a business occasion, taking advantage of [443] the big market at San Juan on the day of the fiesta by carrying several burro loads of apples from Pichátaro. The San Juan fiesta is the [439] occasion of the major interchange of goods between the temperate region and the Balsas Basin.

788 Pilgrims to the San Juan fiesta come from a distance of as much as 22 days' journey, and 796 obviously many of them are not Tarascans. Often individuals will take vows to go part way [785] on their knees, wear a crown of thorns, carry a sack of cactus on their shoulders, or do other types of penance on the way. It is believed that [755] invalids may be cured if they dance before the image in the church. Those who cannot dance may be cured by rubbing them with pieces of cotton passed over the "ulcers" on the Christ image. Many also dance from the edge of the town to the church when they first arrive. It is believed that anyone who laughs at the dancers will become paralyzed and must himself dance in order to be cured. Others say everyone must dance on entering the town or he will never be able to dance again.

796 The fiesta at nearby Paracho on October 20, that of Santa Ursula, offered some interesting points. Each side of the path through the atrium to the church was lined with posts covered with moss, paper flowers, and palm leaves. On two strings between the posts were hung paper flowers and paper candle lanterns in bright colors. The inside of the church was decorated with ropes of pine needles and candle lanterns also.

In the same town, for the fiesta of the patron saint, celebrated August 11, somewhat similar decorations were used. The front of the church was decorated with flowers. In the decorations there was much use of ropes of flowers from which various fruits and vegetables were suspended. The images of saints were placed in cloth-covered booths at the four corners of the atrium. On the following day, Monday, a group of little girls danced in the streets, dancing once in the office of the mayor about 11 o'clock. About noon a Mass was held, followed by a procession moving counterclockwise about the atrium and stopping before each

796 saint's image. At each stop the priest prayed and there was an alms collection. A band played intermittently nearby, and while the procession moved it was accompanied by two *chirimías* and a drum. The dancers formed part of the procession, wearing heavy elaborate crowns.

On August 10, part of the fiesta was observed at San Lorenzo. There were four moros, the last one to enter the large atrium of the church being preceded by two *chirimía* players and a drum. After entering the atrium, the band played, and the horse of one moro, a beautiful animal, danced to the music. Groups of men carried *cuelgas* to the church. These were long ropes wrapped about with plants and hung with fruits and bread. Accompanying the *cuelgas* were women with cornstalks and elaborate paper decorations. At the church a minor crisis developed when one of the two priests, a young man, tried to prevent some of the men from entering because they were obviously very drunk. "God does not wish it, the Saint does not wish it, and I do not wish it," he exclaimed, quite unconscious apparently of the implications of the order of his statement. The groups barred from the church waited patiently outside until the Mass began and then went quietly in.

[798] After Mass, the images of the patron saint, San Lorenzo, the Virgin, and Christ were brought from the church, decorated elaborately with the *cuelgas* and the cornstalks and paper ornaments. The moro dancers dismounted and paid their respects to the saints one at a time. Then they danced in pairs before the images, mostly walking back and forth in complex figures between the images and the big stone cross and clashing their spurs. Women threw handfuls of small candies over the dancers as they passed, and they shortly were wading thigh deep in small children scrambling for the candies.

[799] The fiesta at Ahuñan, in September, was visited by many Cherán residents. Quantities of *atole de caña*, *atole* made with the juice from the stalks of green corn, is served. The principal item in the market is pottery, and it is believed in Cherán that pottery purchased in the market at Ahuñan does not break easily. It should be noted that Ahuñan does not make

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438 pottery and the goods on sale are made at the
323 same pottery-making villages that supply the
other markets.

- 796 The fiesta at Cheranástico for the Assump-
tion of the Virgin is considered a large and
important one. Services are held in the church
at Cherán on this day, and the date is also
observed as a fast day by many Mestizos, in
Uruapan, for example.

At Capacuaro the patron saint is San Mateo.
Small jars of atole are offered for sale and are
purchased, together with the containers, as
offerings to the saint. At Capacuaro it is said
[314] that copal smoke is the food of God and that
when He eats He smells the smoke. For this
reason, it is said, the priests wave the censers
when copal is burning.

- 7 796 The only town visited where no fiestas or
184 *moyordomías* are celebrated is Urupichio. All
the fiestas in this town had formerly been given
by *cargueros* or *mayordomos*. People took
their duties so seriously that many sold their
lands in order to give the *mayordomías* prop-
erly. As a result, a few wealthy people came
to own all the land. When the revolution came,
the town became a supporter of Zapata and
later an agrarian town. After the revolution
the lands were seized and divided up and the
mayordomías and fiestas were abolished. The
church, which was burned down during the
revolution along with the rest of the village, has
never been rebuilt. Instead of a religious
fiesta, Independence Day, September 16, is
527 celebrated with bands and a *castillo*. The
town is planning to have its own band. What
the effects of this will be cannot be determined,
but if the band is hired out to play at fiestas in
other towns it may serve as the entering wedge
for reviving the fiestas.

Data on the fiestas of a Mestizo town,
Chilchota, are given in Appendix 2. They
afford interesting comparative material.

MAYORDOMÍA ORGANIZATION AND THE CULT OF THE SAINTS

- 796 Approximately 13 saints exist in Cherán
796 which belong to groups only indirectly or not
at all connected with the church. Each of
these saints is in charge of an individual known
as a *carguero* or *mayordomo* during a year or
more and is associated with special procedures

796 and ceremonies. The ceremonies of the saints
776 are sometimes called *mayordomías* as they are
elsewhere in Mexico, although the term *cargo*
is more common in Cherán. The elaborate-
ness and expense of the ceremonies vary con-
siderably. Some are virtually community
functions or minor fiestas but held at the
expense of the *carguero* or *mayordomo*. Others
have very little expense attached to them. In
many cases dance groups are associated with
the *mayordomía*.

So far as could be learned, six of the saints
and accompanying *mayordomías* "belong" to the
cabildo. Four others are associated with par-
ticular professions (this is also true of some of
the saints of the *cabildo*) and are "managed"
by principals (*principales*). Another is man-
aged by a group of principals but is not asso-
ciated with a profession, while the final saint
identified is owned by a private family. The
saints belonging to the *cabildo* are San Isidro
(of the farmers), San José (of the forest
workers), Santa Inéz (of the cattle raisers),
Santa Nieves or the Virgin of Snows, the Virgin
of Guadalupe, and the Santo Niño or the Child
Christ. Saints belonging to professions are
San Antonio (of the *arrieros* or muleteers),
San Rafael (of the merchants), San Anselmo
(of the honey gatherers, with two separate
images and ceremonies), and Santa Cecilia (of
the musicians). Independent of any profes-
sion is the *mayordomía* of the Three Kings or
Tres Reyes. The privately owned saint has no
mayordomía properly speaking and is usually
spoken of simply as the Miraculous Saint.

796 The *cabildo* is also known as the "años,"
776 meaning principal persons or things. In
Spanish the *cabildo* is also known as the *prin-*
796 *cipales*. The group consists of men who have
occupied the offices of collector and priest
associated with the church. In the past the
cabildo looked after many things connected
with the church, including the collection and
care of the tithes or gifts to the priest, cared
for the saints in the church and the ornaments
and decorations of the church, and brought the
priests to Cherán during the period when
religious functions were prohibited. Members
also had charge of the *mayordomías* mentioned
above, and considered the saints their property.

796 They decided who should receive the *mayordomía* each year.
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The method of selecting the *mayordomos* was subject to dispute by various informants. The members of the *cabildo* insisted that the *mayordomías* were transferred in the order of application, although sometimes, if a person were too poor to care for the saint properly and live up to the obligations of the *mayordomía*, they would not permit him to have it. Lists of applicants were shown to verify this statement. Many people, however, claimed that it was necessary to give lavish presents to the *cabildo* over a period of 2 or 3 years before a *mayordomía* would be granted. One *mayordomo*, the *carguero* of the Santo Niño in 1940, claimed he had given many gifts of clothing, corn, wheat, *tortillas*, tamales, etc., to the *cabildo* at the previous Christmas ceremonies and in all had spent about \$250 on them before he was granted the *mayordomía*. This man, however, was active in a campaign against the *cabildo* at the time. The *cabildo* members admitted receiving gifts, but claimed they were voluntary and in no way influenced the assignment of the *mayordomías*. It was customary, and the *cabildo* expected to be invited to the *mayordomía* and to be treated as guests of honor, receiving special large breads, atole, and gifts of food; the contradictions about gifts, however, seemed impossible to resolve, arising as they did out of a passionate controversy under way at the time.

[578] The *cabildo* selects one of its number to act as head. In 1940 the head was Maximiliano Ortiz, a noted conservative. Ortiz was supposed to visit the church every day. Despite the quarrel, to be described, about the *cabildo*, Ortiz was elected alternate to one of the *regidores* or members of the *ayuntamiento* "so he would no longer be able to criticize." The *cabildo* also invites people to serve as *colector* and *prioste* and thus ultimately become members of the *cabildo* themselves. Others say these offices are sought. Such invitations could be refused. People were not invited to become *mayordomos* as there was usually a waiting list.

The office of *prioste* is occupied first. After one year, the person advances to the office of *colector*. The following year he becomes one of the *cabildo*. These two officials have the

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794 same duties, but the *colector* is the superior of the two. Their duties are to select and supervise the *kéji* and the matters of the church. The day-to-day expenses involved they must pay out of their own pockets (despite the charges against the *cabildo* to be reviewed later, no one denied this expenditure by the *prioste* and *colector*). The two officers receive the gifts of maize and wheat made to the church and give them to the priest, who in turn entrusts them to the *kéji*.

The *kéji* is selected by the *colector*. For 1 year he lives in a house on the church grounds (probably formerly in the hospital before it fell to ruins), cares for the church property and the stores of the priest, rings the church bells every noon, runs errands for the *colector*, and does any odd jobs he may be assigned. After 1 year he does not become a member of the *cabildo* but retires to private life.

During his year of office, the *colector* has to provide the *kéji* with the maize he needs for his family and some money for minor expenses. Usually the *kéji* is a man who has a grown son or a brother to look after his affairs for the year. Among the public outside of the church group it is not regarded as a great thing to be a *kéji*. The church group, on the other hand, make a good deal of the individual. Moreover, it is believed that the service is rendered to God and will bring recompense in the future life. The offices of *kéji*, *prioste*, and *colector* change each year on December 8. The main ceremonies circle about the change of *kéji*.

At one time the *kéji* began in the month of November to visit the *cargueros* of the saints belonging to the *cabildo* every Saturday early in the morning, accompanied by musicians. The *cargueros* served *posole*. By December 8, the *kéji* had visited all the saints, saying farewell to them. On this date a large lantern was suspended from a pole outside the house of the *kéji* and remained until the ceremonies of changing the *kéji* were concluded.

For the change of office, both the old *kéji* and the new provide themselves with "old men" or *viejos*. These are men dressed in an overcoat and with a cane. They carry a little bell adorned with flowers, wear a small hat, and a wooden *viejo* mask (a wooden mask carved to represent an old man with a long white beard).

796 These are the speakers for the two *kéji*. Each
794 *kéji* (in conjunction with the new and retiring
prioste) has a band of music. Both the old
and the new *prioste* invite friends and relatives
to their houses for a meal. The *cabildo* goes to
both places.

About 3 o'clock in the afternoon both parties
go to the house occupied by the *kéji* in the
church grounds, still sometimes called the hos-
pital despite the assertion of many that the
kéji never lived in the hospital. The new *kéji*
brings with him all the things he needs to set
up housekeeping: new brooms, dishes, a *carga*
of maize, the head of a beef, ax, metate, mats
and clothes, all carried on burros. Arriving
at the house, he finds all in disorder. The
house is full of trash, the fireplace has been taken
down, and everything has been left in the worst
condition possible. The old *kéji* carries away
everything he has used. Even old brooms and
broken pots are saved through the year to be
carried away at this time.

The two *viejos* or old men now begin to argue.
The *viejo* representing the incoming *kéji* makes
a long speech, criticising the administration of
the outgoing *kéji*. The other *viejo* then re-
sponds, defending the outgoing *kéji* and
explaining all the good things he has done.
The two argue for some time. The music then
plays a tune. First one and then the other
dances; they endeavor to outdo one another,
both in their ridiculous manner of dancing and
in making jokes. Each is accompanied by a
woman dressed as an old woman in a very much
embroidered blouse and wearing a hat. Then
the new officials inspect all the patio of the
hospital; the new *kéji* enters the kitchen and
takes possession. The old *kéji* goes out
through the *zaguan* or gate with his belongings.
The old *kéji* goes to the house of the old *prioste*
with his friends and they drink until night.
The new *kéji* and his *prioste* do the same in the
hospital after the celebration of Mass.

Sometime during these events the *cabildo*
elects the new *colector*. This official takes office
on the 1st of January when he goes to church
to celebrate the Circumcision. The new *colec-
tor* and his wife receive the benediction at the
Mass. The wife of the *colector* carries with
her an outfit of clothing for the Christ Child.
After Mass the two go to the house of the new

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[535] képi, who serves them *posole*. Afterward they return home. On this occasion, also, the *colector* is supposed to sponsor a dance called *los viejitos* in which five boys and five girls take part (some say six of each sex). The girls are said to be the future *uanánches*.

Although the new *prioste* takes office on December 8, the duties of the *prioste* do not end until the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, the Santo Niño. On this occasion he is obligated to accompany the *uanánches* while they dance."

The *uanánches* mentioned above are a group of young girls selected by the *prioste*. (This is contradicted in a sense by the fact that some parents make a vow for their girls to serve as *uanánches*, for example, if the girl is sick when small.) They act as servants of the *prioste*, going every day to the church (usually accompanied by their mothers). At church they sweep, bring flowers for the altars, and help keep things in order. At Christmas time they perform a sort of *pastorela* dance, aided by other girls. One of the girls is known as the *suñánda* and is regarded as the first or leader. She is in charge of the incense, the "one who carries copal." The other girls have no special names.

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793 Frequent references have been made to the quarrel between the *cabildo* and the new priest. The motivations and the exact events probably were not discovered. In any case, the roots of the quarrel go far back in time. Ostensibly, however, the fight started with the departure of the old priest.

So far as could be ascertained, the first overt act in the struggle was the calling of a *junta* on the matter. While the *junta* was called by the mayor, in this he was merely conforming to the custom of calling such a meeting whenever it was requested. The request was made by one David Guerrero, a somewhat surly and unapproachable person (so far as the staff of the study were concerned) who ran a small store and saloon (mostly the latter) not far from the plaza. Guerrero's motivations seem obscure. He was not particularly active in the church. Neither did he seem to belong to any

"It should be noted that the above account is based on data from informants. Owing to the quarrel between the priest and the *cabildo* none of the ceremonies were performed in 1940. The data are from musicians who always attended and from members of the *cabildo*.

MAYORDOMÍAS

776 *Mayordomías* are undertaken by families voluntarily. The word family is used advisedly, for it is doubtful if a man would ask for a *mayordomía* unless his wife was in full accord, for much of the successful carrying out of the duties depends on the cooperation of the wife. The motives are definitely religious and the persons taking *mayordomías* are always pious and loyal Catholics. In visiting the various [123] *cargueros* and observing the images of the saints, almost every time the first question asked of my guide (in Tarascan) when I visited a house was whether I was one "who could see the saints," that is, was I for or against the saints and the *mayordomías*. However, certain of the *mayordomías* are restricted to specific occupations.

782 For the most part the *mayordomías* are undertaken to secure some future good or to
 796 give thanks for some past good. Undoubtedly
 [554] *mayordomías* are sometimes undertaken to secure social prestige, but this appears to be a rare motive. Generally the *mayordomía* is sought as the result of a promise, *manda*. If a man has no sons, he may promise to seek a *mayordomía* if he should be favored with a male offspring. Sick persons, or families in which there are sickly children, may also make such a promise. On the other hand, one who has prospered greatly may seek a *mayordomía* to express his gratitude.

One family, as an example, had a sickly son. The parents obtained the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, one of the most expensive. As the mother put it, "The child seemed comforted at the presence of the Holy Child in the house and improved." The following year the parents sought and obtained the *mayordomía* of the Three Kings. As improvement continued, they added several items to the celebration of the *mayordomía*, paying the expenses of the dance group, which up to that time had been independent.

788 Other types of promises are also made.
 [782] Vows to make the pilgrimage to San Juan de las Colchas (Parangaricutiro) have already been mentioned, but shrines of other saints may also be visited. Usually some slight gift, a

788 candle or a garment, is taken on the occasion of such pilgrimages.

MAYORDOMÍA OF THE SANTO NIÑO

796 The *mayordomía* of the Santo Niño or the Holy Child, celebrated December 25, is the most expensive of the *mayordomías* of the *cabildo*.
[594] More than any other it may be undertaken for motives of social prestige and ostentation. The *carguero* in 1940, according to his wife, did not take the post as result of a vow, but simply for pleasure, "*no mas por gusto*."

The new *carguero* assumes his duties on December 26. The previous day and night the image connected with the *mayordomía* is left in church. The new *carguero* takes the image from the church to his house. Previously, he prepares a special place for the image with the help of invited relatives and friends whom he feeds. Usually the place for the image is the "*tróje*." Everything is removed from the room, a suitably decorated altar is prepared, and often an alcove is built up of boards and lined with colored paper. Strips of colored paper are hung from the ceiling and ornaments are sometimes suspended from the ceiling as well. Miniature objects—chairs, metates, dolls, etc.—are frequently hung from the ceiling also.

During the year, the *carguero* has few duties. He keeps the image in good condition and always ready for visits of persons who may wish to say prayers and who often leave a few alms or burn a candle in honor of it. The *carguero* also begins accumulating food and property for the ceremonies. He plants as much corn and wheat as possible and prepares animals for fattening. He also accumulates cash. If necessary, he may be helped by his brothers and cousins.

796 The first act of the *carguero* is to assemble
535 dancers to perform the dance of the *negritos* (pl. 6, lower left). In this also he is helped by his brothers, who invite various young men to perform. The *carguero* also hires a teacher to teach the dancers their steps and their speaking parts, *relatos*. For about a week before December 25, the dancers rehearse in the house of the *carguero* and food is provided, at least in theory. In 1940 one of the assistants, Agustín, was a *negrito* dancer and com-

796 mented that the *carguero* did not seem to wish to give even cigarettes. To which Pedro Chávez, our progressive and anti-Church assistant, replied sagely that this was because the *cabildo* had been abolished.

On the evening of December 24, candles are burned at night before the image in the house of the *carguero*, and he, his family and relatives, and the dancers and their relatives sit up with the image but do not participate in other activities of the *mayordomo*. The *uanánctes* are also present. All are given food by the *mayordomo* in the late afternoon before dark. About midnight the image is taken to visit the image of the Child Christ in church and a Mass is held at the expense of the *carguero*, who also provides special candles for the occasion. The image in the church is put in a reclining position in a crib where it remains until January 1.

After the Mass, which does not end until nearly morning, the men go home, but return at an early hour to the house of the *carguero* for breakfast. The women remain in the *carguero's* house, assisting in preparing the meals for the dancers. After breakfast the men either return home or accompany the *carguero* as he cares for the dancers who now go out to dance in various houses. The dancers perform the days of the 25th, 26th, and 27th. During this time food is provided for them and many people assist in the food preparations. The dancers provide their own costumes for this affair, but the music, a band of wind instruments, is hired by the *carguero*. At the houses where the dancers perform they are given gifts of fruits and things that children would like (because it is a fiesta of the Child Christ).

In addition to the *negrito* and *pastorela* dances connected with the December 25 events, three other groups of dancers sometimes appear, the *melebris*. Neither they nor the *pastorela* are connected with the *mayordomía*. They are discussed in connection with the dances.

796 The expenses of this *mayordomía* are between \$500 and \$700. Music is hired for a week (for part of the practice as well as for the dancing), an expense of about \$200. One or two beeves usually are killed and about three fattened pigs. As much as 15 *fanegas* of maize may be consumed. Quantities of bread are also purchased, and *charanda* forms a considerable

- 796 item of expense also. A midnight Mass and candles are paid for, as well as the dance instructor. Special foods are also prepared at this time, for example, *mole de pepita de calabaza molida*, mole of ground squash seeds, a very rich food prepared only on this occasion (see recipes, p. 53).

MAYORDOMÍA OF SANTA NIEVES

[796] Santa Nieves, or the Virgin de las Nieves (Virgin of the Snows), was evidently once the Virgin associated with the hospital. The *carguero* in 1940, as was the case with the *carguero* of the Child Christ, had taken the post "for pleasure."

The *carguero* receives the saint August 5. He takes it to his home and places it in a specially prepared place. On the day of the saint, August 5, he is supposed to arrange a dance, the *caballita uarárica*, dance of the little horses, and to provide a band. This was not done in 1940 because of the quarrel over the *cabildo*. The dancers perform on this one day only, visiting the houses of the *cabildo*. The *carguero* pays for a Mass in church to which he takes the image of the saint. The image is left in church for the new *carguero*.

MAYORDOMÍA OF GUADALUPE

The *mayordomía* of the Virgin of Guadalupe on December 12 is also a fiesta of the *cabildo*. The *carguero* gives food to his relatives in his house and they help him to decorate the church. The image of the Virgin is taken to church for the Mass and is left there for the new *carguero*. A long Mass is held. In 1940 there were three priests and the cost was \$60. Eighteen large candles were provided, each with bows of red, green, and white made out of tin (because of a shortage, four candles had paper ornaments). The candles are carried to church in procession by the helpers (relatives) of the *carguero*. Behind is carried the Virgin's image, followed by the *carguero* and his wife. A dance is supposed to be held, but it was omitted in 1940.

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN ISIDRO

The *mayordomía* of San Isidro is also connected with the *cabildo*. The date of the *mayordomía* is May 15. Information of this *mayordomía* was obtained from the *carguero's*

- 796 wife, who was very suspicious and possibly ignorant. Consequently it is not wholly satisfactory.

[796] The saint is the patron of those who cultivate the ground with oxen, but there is no evidence that only cultivators assume this *mayordomía*. The *carguero* pays for a Mass and probably for candles. Usually the relatives of the *carguero* and his wife are invited to eat at the house, but this is not obligatory and may be omitted if the *carguero* cannot afford it (the *carguero* in 1940 was obviously very poor). If the relatives are invited, the wife's female relatives aid in preparing the food. The saint's image is taken to church before the Mass and remains in church until the fiesta of Corpus, when it is removed by the new *carguero*. The *carguero* in 1940 had taken the saint because of a vow, but the wife said she did not know what the vow was. ¹[i.e., San Isidro. -Analyst]

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN JOSÉ

[796] San José is a patron of the shake makers and the plank makers. The *carguero* is usually of one of these occupations. He begins his service on the saint's day, March 19. At the fiesta of Corpus he takes the image to church and pays for candles. He also provides meals for the commissioners and musicians of the woodworkers at the fiesta (for the entire fiesta according to one informant, but this contradicts other information given in connection with the Corpus fiesta). In the following year on March 19 the *carguero* pays for a Mass, candles, and *cohetes*, taking the saint's image to the church where it is left for the new *carguero*. On the 19th, if the *carguero* wishes, he may invite his relatives to the house for food and have music, but this is not obligatory.

MAYORDOMÍA OF SANTA INÉZ

[796] Santa Inéz, also a saint of the *cabildo*, is regarded as one of the virgins. She is patron of cattle and pigs. Formerly there were cows belonging to this saint, but they were lost. About 15 years ago a cow was presented to the saint. Now she possesses two cows, two bulls, and two young steers. The *carguero* looks after these animals. He may use the milk from the cows, but he is not supposed to sell any of the cattle.

796 The saint's image in this case¹ was kept with
 778 special elegance in a large case with glass on
 the front and sides. Inside the box were small
 images of a cow, a steer, and a pig on the left
 side. The box stood on a table decorated with
 paper flowers and supporting an incense
 burner, a basket of copal gum, and a candle.
 The table in turn rested on a mat on the floor.
 The wall behind the box was decorated with
 colored papers and chains and paper cut-outs.

796 The new *carguero* receives the image of the
 saint on April 21. On Corpus the image is
 taken to church (and probably candles are
 burned). At the end of the year, on the fol-
 lowing April 21, the relatives of the *carguero*
 visit him. He has musicians and food for
 them. The saint's image is taken to church
 for a Mass paid for by the *carguero* (probably
 with candles). Some *cargueros*, when they
 receive the image, give it a new outfit of cloth-
 ing. The image is large and one of the best-
 dressed in Cherán. The dress is white with a
 blue cape. A gilt crown is on the head and
 a necklace of the red glass beads prized by
 Tarascan women is about the neck. The altar
 is decorated with many flowers and aromatic
 herbs. 1 [i.e., Santa Inés - Analyst]

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN RAFAEL

The *mayordomía* of San Rafael is not con-
 nected with the *cabildo*. The saint is patron
 of the merchants, and apparently the *mayor-
 domía* is administered by a principal or princi-
 pals selected by the merchants. The principals
 decide who shall receive the *mayordomía* and
 pay an occasional visit to the *carguero's* house
 to see that all is kept in proper order. This
 seems to be the regular arrangement for all the
 independent saints connected with *mayor-
 domías*, although specific information is lacking
 for some of them.

[778] As patron of the merchants, the image of
 [776] San Rafael carries a fish under the left arm
 and in his right hand bears a staff (actually
 a shepherd's crook). About his neck is a neck-
 lace of sea shells. In front of the altar are
 hung other sea shells and miniature fire fans,
 clay fruits, etc. The house and altar are well
 decorated with paper flowers and colored
 papers. Before the altar are candles and an
 incense burner. The merchants visit the

- 796 saint's image and burn a candle before setting out on a journey.

The new *carguero* takes charge of the image the day before Corpus. He goes to the house of the old *carguero*, secures the image, and takes it to church. There it remains in a "box" during the week-long festivities of Corpus. On Monday afternoon of Corpus the musicians of the merchants come to the house of the *carguero* and make it their headquarters during the fiesta until Saturday noon. The musicians, the commissioners, and whatever people attach themselves to the group, breakfast and dine at the house of the *carguero* during the fiesta. If he cannot afford this, the commissioners provide the meals, three or four cooperating in providing each meal. The musicians of this group also greet the honey gatherers when they return from their stay in the woods collecting honeycombs for the fiesta (on Friday, according to the *carguero*; Tuesday, according to all others).

The day of the saint is October 24. The *carguero* pays for a Mass (and presumably candles). In 1940 the Mass was delayed because the priest was too busy and was out of town frequently.

The *carguero* ordinarily is a merchant, but in 1940 he was a fireworks maker. Because he traveled from town to town, the principals had decided he could qualify as *carguero* when he asked for the *mayordomía*. The *carguero* sought the responsibility "for pleasure" and not because of any vow. Incidentally, he is a native of Pichataro and speaks very little Spanish. His wife speaks even less. Perhaps because of this origin they were much the most open and cordial of the *cargueros*.⁵⁷

MAYORDOMÍA OF SAN ANTONIO

[776] San Antonio is patron of the muleteers, the *arrieros*. The new *carguero* receives the image on June 13, the day of the saint, and takes it to

⁵⁷ Those desiring the *mayordomía* of San Rafael apply to the principal. The holder of this office in 1940 had occupied it for 18 years, although he had several times tried to resign. Occasionally he calls meetings of the merchants to discuss some expense relative to the saint, such as new garments or altar table. Sometimes money is collected in the meeting in advance for such expenditures. On other occasions the principal spends money out of his pocket and takes up a collection at the meeting to reimburse himself. According to this principal, the new *carguero* goes to the priest during Corpus for benediction. Probably this is true of the other *mayordomías* but the point was not investigated.

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his house. On Corpus he carries the image to church and spends money for candles. If he wishes he may have a fiesta with music and food at his house, but this is not obligatory.

A few notes on the history of San Antonio, obtained from one of the principals, are of interest. The original image was burned at the time the town was destroyed during the revolution. For a number of years the *mayordomía* was in abeyance. About a dozen years before the study, a young man in the house, a traveler, expressed an interest in having the saint. The principal borrowed a saint from somewhere, and they kept it in the house. The muleteers talked a good deal about the matter, but did nothing. Finally the principal placed an order for a new image. A principal of the old image of the saint, which had been destroyed, assisted, as he knew about such things, and solicited alms from the muleteers. In about 2 years they got the new image of the saint and then informed the priest. He came to the house to see it and commended them. Then he said they should seek godfathers for the image and have it blessed. This was done, and thus the *mayordomía* was revived. The old principal, the informant, and one other who had recently died had been the principals ever since. Persons wishing the *mayordomía* had to ask them for it. If more than one person asked, they were given it in order.

Although San Antonio is the patron of the muleteers, they do not visit the image before going on journeys. Persons not muleteers may also receive this *mayordomía*. In fact, the principal who served as informant is a mason who interested himself in the saint because of the youth living in his house (possibly his son, although he carefully avoided any suggestion of relationship).

[782]

Some persons not muleteers also make vows to the saint. The same informant cited the case of a man named Antonio who made a vow to take the *mayordomía* when there was an epidemic killing many pigs in Cherán. None of Don Antonio's pigs died. He sought the *mayordomía* and received it. Ever since, he fattens and kills a pig every year, sells the lard, and buys something for the saint with the proceeds.

THE MAYORDOMÍAS OF SAN ANSELMO

796 There are two *mayordomías* of San Anselmo, each with its saint's image. Both belong to the honey gatherers, the *panaleros*, and there is a certain amount of cooperation between the two *cargueros*. For example, they share the cost of the Mass on the saint's day. One of the *mayordomías* is always in *barrio* III or IV, the upper *barrios*, while the second is always in the lower *barrios*, that is, I and II. It is said that only honey gatherers can receive the *mayordomías*. Although honey gatherers apparently are not numerous, there are a good many men who occasionally follow the occupation. As it is highly dangerous, the aid of the saint is felt important and there usually are numerous persons willing to accept the *mayordomía*, especially as it is not a very expensive one.

The new *carguero* receives the saint at the church 8 days after the fiesta of Corpus. The new *carguero* presents the saint with a hat, blanket, palm fiber raincoat, and other miniature items. As the saint's image is small, everything connected with it is small. On April 22 the two *cargueros* jointly pay for a Mass, but it is said not to be such an important Mass as for other saints. The Mass follows that of Santa Inéz on April 21; it is said that as the *mayordomías* of this saint follow after Santa Inez, one should not spend as much as is spent for Santa Inéz. San Anselmo is more humble. The giving of a fiesta in the house on the saint's day is optional with the *carguero*.

Eight days before Corpus both images of the saint are taken to the mountains when the honey gatherers go out to seek honeycombs for the fiesta. The two images are taken to different places, and the men from the different *barrios* accompany the associated saint's image. The *carguero* supplies large quantities of *charanda* on this occasion. The men get drunk and dance every afternoon to guitar music. On Tuesday of Corpus the images are taken to church and left there until taken by the new *cargueros*.

The choice of the new *cargueros* is made by the priest from lists provided by the principals. According to the *carguero* for the two lower *barrios* in 1940, four principals named by the

796 honey gatherers determine the list of candidates for the *mayordomía* at a meeting before Corpus. For the upper two *barrios*, only one principal was mentioned. In this case the principal was interviewed and asserted that all candidates for the *mayordomía* applied to him. The real *carguero* in the lower *barrios* in 1940 was the 4-year-old son of the household, according to his father. The *mayordomía* was sought because the boy was not growing normally.

[755] On some occasions the principals of the lower *barrios* have some expenses. For example, one year the box in which the saint's image is taken to the mountains was partly burned through an accident. The principals ordered a new box at their expense.

MAYORDOMÍA OF THE THREE KINGS

The *mayordomía* of the Three Kings, Los Treyes Reyes, is celebrated on January 6, the new *carguero* taking the images the following day. The *mayordomía* is relatively new, and the present images were secured in 1940. The previous images were small and provisional. The *carguero* in 1940 had held the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child the previous year. In both cases the *mayordomía* was sought to aid the health of a sickly child. In addition, the parents had vowed the child to perform in the dance of the *viejos* every year.

[755] It is obvious that the *carguero* in 1940 was well-to-do to be able to take two *mayordomías* on 2 successive years. Moreover, he introduced an innovation by taking over all the expenses of the dancers who perform in connection with the Day of the Kings. Previously the dance group had been entirely independent of the *mayordomía*, raising their own money for expenses and music.

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435 The expenses of the *carguero* in 1940 were secured in some detail. They are as follows:

Musicians.....	\$ 70.00
1 pig butchered (estimate).....	25.00
1 ox butchered (estimate).....	\$0.00
22 fanegas of maize at 3.75 to 4.00.....	80.00
40 sugar canes and 40 oranges for dancers.....	2.00
Bread for all (about 200 guests) at end of dance; three breakfasts for dancers.....	10.00

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[435]

3 liters milk daily	}	15.00
25 tablets chocolate daily		
3 or 4 centavos of bread each daily		
Three breakfasts for musicians		
2 kilos of sugar		.70
3 bottles alcohol (estimate)		3.00
Coffee for musicians (estimate)		1.00

Total \$266.70

Ordinarily the new *carguero* seeks the *mayordomía* from the principals. The *carguero* in 1940 had some doubts as to what would be done because of the insistence of their priest that *mayordomías* should in future be asked of him. On the other hand, the principals had no doubt that the *mayordomía* was their special property.

The *mayordomía* of the Three Kings was definitely a new departure in Cherán. The dance group apparently had performed for many years.

According to the three principals, whom by good luck it was possible to interview together, until a few years ago only a group of dancers performed on the Day of Kings. The dancers were not organized but each year a group of volunteer performers got together informally. There were images of the Three Kings in church, but none were taken to private houses. One time the three principals were talking about the dance when "God sent them the idea" of creating a *mayordomía*. From some 15 or 18 others they collected some money. The principals, however, put in a good deal more than the others. Then they started with the three small images which one of them had in his house, in the meantime ordering the new images. One of the principals received the *mayordomía* first. The *carguero* in 1940 was the third and those for the following 2 years had already been appointed.

With regard to the position of the priest, the principals remarked that the saints belonged to them and neither the *cabildo* nor the priest nor anyone else had anything to say about the images. However, the priest, according to the principals, accepted this situation, for he had no cause to be angry with them.

MAYORDOMÍA OF SANTA CECILIA

Very few data were collected concerning this *mayordomía* which was not discovered until

796 shortly before the close of the study. (It is quite probable that two or three *mayordomías* exist in Cherán which were not discovered at all; no one in the town appears to know all of them.) Santa Cecilia is patroness of the musicians, and the *carguero* is always a musician. In 1940 no one wished to "take the saint," so the image remained in the same house, a nephew of the former *carguero* who lived in the house taking the responsibility. The musicians all gather at the house of the *carguero* and play all day. (This is how the *mayordomía* was discovered; however, no outsiders were invited in, despite the most obvious hints.)

THE MIRACULOUS HOLY CHILD

776 This saint, El Milagroso Santo Niño, is not properly to be included among the *mayordomías*, as it is the property of a single family and does not circulate among other households. According to the story told by the owners, the saint was found by the man of the family some 18 years before, while he was cutting wheat below the town. Tiring, he sat down, and while picking idly at the dirt with his sickle he uncovered the image. He had the image fixed up (at present it looks entirely like the other saint's images with respect to the technique and painting). With the aid of others, a chapel was then built for the saint in the yard of the house. When the image was found it was only about 30 cm. high. It is claimed that it has grown steadily until it is now between 70 and 80 cm.

The saint first became known as a miraculous saint when a man from the ranchos (a group of small Mestizo settlements on the boundaries of Cherán in the mountains) cut his foot while alone in the woods. As he was bleeding to death, he recalled the saint, of which he had heard, and vowed to take it to his rancho accompanied by dancers. The bleeding stopped and he recovered.

Keeping his vow, the Mestizo brought dancers to Cherán and took the saint to the rancho. There other miracles occurred. For example, a child who could not walk and who was dumb had the crown of the saint put on him; he now walks and talks very well.

As a result of these experiences, the people

776 from the ranchos came every year with dancers.
796 They spent 3 days in Cherán, dancing in the church and in the municipal building. Then they took the saint to the ranchos and it often was kept there many months. In 1940 the owners decided not to let the saint go any more because they wished to have it with them "as we have lost much time with it."

COMPARATIVE NOTES

796 Material collected from other towns suggests
794 that other types of *mayordomia* organization exist. In Angáhuán, Rendón found an elaborate hierarchy of officials, evidently corresponding to the *cabildo* and the associated organization at Cherán. In Angáhuán, according to Rendón, the officials are ranked as follows: *Alcalde*, *regidor*, *kámbiti*, *petájpe* and *biskál*, *mayores*, *kiēji*, *anyítakua*.

In addition, there is a group of elderly men, corresponding to the Cherán *cabildo*, who are known as *tarénpenya*. These are men who have served the above offices or part of them.

The *alcalde* and *regidor* correspond to the *prioste-colector* positions in Cherán apparently. The *alcalde* is in charge of the church for 1 year. During this time he has to hold six fiestas. The first is at New Year's, when he receives his post and when he must provide food and *aguardiente*. The second is carnival, when he is aided in the expenses by the "*cabildo*" (it is not clear from Rendón's notes whether this means the same as it does in Cherán). The third is the day of the Holy Cross when he must pay for two bands and there is the dance of the moors and soldiers. The *alcalde* provides food for the dancers. The latter dance in the houses of various functionaries. The fourth fiesta is Corpus, at which time all the members of the different occupations take miniatures of their products and dance with them before the church and also perform their offices. The fifth fiesta is that of Santiago (the patron saint), when there is music, dancers, and also bull riding. For this fiesta the *alcalde* pays for the Masses and gives food to the dancers. The final fiesta is the day on which the *alcalde* is chosen by the elders.

The *regidor* is the helper of the *alcalde* and aids him in every way possible. The relatives of the *alcalde* also assist him with food.

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-794 The duties of the kámbiti are to pay the expenses of the Holy Week festivities and to decorate the front of the main altar with fruits from the hot country, such as bananas, watermelons, mameys, coconuts, mangoes, and sugarcane. The fruits are suspended in small nets or are perforated and hung from strings. The ceremony is called uirimutakua, which means "to adorn the front of something."

On Holy Saturday the young people of the town divide in two groups and go through the town, the girls carrying an image of Mary Magdalene, the men one of Saint Joseph. At strategic points the two groups meet and have races with the images. Certain young girls also place themselves at the door of the church during Holy Week and offer the refreshments known as *čarápes* to all comers. These girls must change the flowers on the altars during the ensuing year and are known as *cacaki jaŋirati*. All these ceremonies are regulated by the kámbiti.

[312] The *petájpe* gathers the young men at his house in February and feeds them "*esquite*," of the type known as *kanita takunji*. At this time he announces the date for cleaning the spring from which the town gets its water. The day the spring is cleaned, the *petájpe* provides music and rice, beans, and pork for the helpers at his house. At the spring, many families go along and take picnic food, singing and enjoying themselves while the young men clean the spring. When the spring is cleaned, they carry *ollas* of water to their houses, using it as drinking water in preference to water from the pipes until it is gone.

There are no data on the office of *biskál*. Rendón's notes suggest that the offices of *petájpe* and *biskál* are the same.

To reach the office of *mayor*, one must give a *fiesta* to the *patron* saint and appear as a *moro* dancer. The *moros* dance on December 25 and 26 in the houses of the elders. On the 24th they worship in the church. *Mayores* must aid their superiors with firewood and their wives grind and carry water when the *alcalde* or *kámbiti* or *petájpe* hold a *fiesta*.

The *kiéŋi* has similar duties to the *kéŋi* of Cherán. He is entrusted with the care of the church and follows the orders of the *alcalde* in cleaning and adorning the structure. He

● 796 has under his orders the anyítakuas or
"semaneros."

794 The latter are those in charge each week of the hospital or *yuriso*. This duty rotates by street blocks. Each week seven or eight families must go to a house beside the church and one of the group prepares food for the remainder and for any sick persons in the town. This service occurs about every 3 months. Those whose service occurs the first 2 weeks in December must provide a group of *pastorela* dancers; those whose service is the second 2 weeks must provide a competing group. The dancers perform December 24, 25, 26, and 31. Dances of the "little old men," *viejitos*, are associated with the *pastorelas*.

See Appendix 2 for further comparative data.

DANCES

796 The dances performed at Cherán are all
535 associated with some religious festival. Organization of the majority of them is part of the duties of the *mayordomo*, although the moros are connected with the fiesta, while a number of unorganized independent dances are given around December 25. At least three of the dances have spoken parts and are essentially dramatic performances. All center around the birth of Christ, December 25, and the visit of the Three Kings, January 6. The greatest public interest, however, seems to attach to the dance of the moros, connected with the fiesta of the patron saint. Participation in dances is voluntary, although vows may be taken by an individual, or a child may be promised to a dance by its parents.

THE MOROS

The dance of the *moros* (Moors) is widespread among the Tarascan towns and generally appears to be associated with the fiesta of the patron saint. Usually only four dancers appear. In Cherán, commissioners are named, each seeking a dancer and providing the costume and the horse ridden by the moro part of the time. Good horses are sought and one that will "dance" to the music is especially desirable.

The *moros* wear a pair of trousers extending part way down the calf of the leg and slashed to the knee on the outside. These trousers are usually of velvet with rich decoration in

796 gold braid and ornaments. Underneath is
535 worn an ordinary pair of cotton *calzones*. The lower part of the legs is wrapped in cloth to represent leggings. A richly decorated velvet cape is worn over the shoulders, with gold braid and fringe about the edges and gilt ornaments and often small mirrors scattered profusely over the rest of the cape. Underneath is worn a bright-colored rayon shirt.

The headdress is a complicated crown of split cane with a number of upright pieces a foot or more in height. The crown and uprights are decorated in brightly colored papers, feathers, and bright ornaments, including small mirrors. The face is almost covered with a bright rayon kerchief. Shoes are worn. A pair of spurs, with very large metal disks in place of the rowels, completes the costume. The trousers, cape, and headdress are usually rented for the occasion by the commissioner. The rest of the costume is purchased and presented to the dancer by the commissioner.

The *moros* parade about on their horses a good deal and also dance, especially at the stores and *cantinas*, where they are given small presents, cookies, cigarettes, money, or drinks. They usually dance singly or in pairs. The steps are simple shuffling steps designed to give as many opportunities to clash the spurs together as possible. The figures of the dance are not well defined but appear related to European country dances. Realizing from previous experience that without skill in choreographic description (and being unable to witness the dances closely), attempts to record steps and figures are of little value, the writer made no effort to secure details.

THE NEGRITOS

The *negritos*, *turi'a*, appear in connection with the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, December 25. The brothers and relatives of the *carguero* invite people to dance. Persons who accept give a promise and have to appear. Thirty to thirty-five unmarried young men or boys are sought, "alert people, good learners, who can read." Also, anyone who wishes may volunteer. In addition to the young men, four little girls participate. Each dancer picks a godmother, who is known as the *koroníche*.

535 Usually the dancer picks one of his existing
 796 godmothers whom he likes. The godmother
 dresses the dancer and takes care of his costume, keeping it in her house at night.

The *negritos* wear a regular "citified," *catrin* costume, that is, dark-colored trousers and a woolen sack coat and shoes. They wear a black wooden mask but with European type features. The mask is decorated with many silk ribbons fastened to the top of the mask and hanging down over the head and nearly to the ground behind the dancer. The ribbons are about 2 inches wide and are of many colors. As they are 7 meters long, each ribbon is looped down and back two or three times. There is some competition among the dancers to have the most ribbons, and wealthy young men may wear as many as 24. "Earrings" are suspended from the ears, and a number of strings of beads are worn. Gloves are worn (pl. 6, lower left).

The costume is provided by the dancer. Part is rented and part is purchased. In the case of one *negrito* dancer in 1940, the following expense was involved:—

[435] [427]	Mask (rent)	\$0.50
	Ribbons (rent)	8.50
	Suit (rent)	6.00
	Shirt (purchase)	5.00
	Shoes (purchase)	9.50
	Necktie (rent)	.50
Total		\$30.00

The *negrito* dance, properly speaking, is not a dance at all. The group recites a *relato* or relation of some length, sings several songs, and walks through a number of not very complicated figures. Ordinarily, they are in two files, with one of the little girls at each end. From time to time, the two files will march forward or backward or each file will walk in a circle or one file will make a circle about the

535 other (fig. 16). Occasionally each pair of
 796 *negritos* will walk to the head of the line and
 back while the two recite their part of the
relato.

535 The teaching of the *relato* and of the dance
 is done by a specialist hired for the occasion by
 538 the *carguero*. The best-known specialist is
 796 Gregorio Castillo, although he was not hired in
 1940. Castillo also teaches the dance of the
viejos, *Europeos* or *Espanoles*, as he prefers to
 call it, and was hired to teach the group in 1941.
 He had been teaching the dances for 28 years
 (in 1940). His *relatos* he wrote himself. He
 secured many *relatos* locally and also sent to
 Mexico City and Guadalajara for others, but
 he liked none of them. (But several people
 said they were very tired of Castillo's *relatos*,
 which have been the same for 20 years and
 which they felt were not very good anyway.)
 Castillo feels that the *negrito* dance is espe-
 cially fine and that the *negritos* of Cherán are

superior to any he has seen in other towns.
 The only time he admits having seen a better
 dance than that of Cherán was once when
 Aranza borrowed his *relato* and had especially
 elaborate costumes. Nahuatzen *negritos* have
 a better dress than those of Cherán, but they
 are no longer trained.

Castillo, perhaps because it is not in his field,
 believes the *pastorela* to be a very inferior per-
 formance. It is, he says, merely a lot of
 children dressed up prettily but knowing
 neither their lines nor their dance. The
negrito, on the other hand, is a nice clear *relato*,
 all divided into acts, and the performers are old
 enough to learn their parts.

Castillo's *relatos* are, naturally, part of his
 stock in trade. While he was cooperative and
 willing to permit them to be copied, he would
 do so only at a price commensurate with their
 value to him. This price seemed more than
 they would be worth as documents, particularly

[Text continues on p. 146a]

[p.145c]

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FIGURE 16.—Figures executed in the *negrito* dance. *P* indicates *pastores*.

[p. 146a]

535 as it is evident that they contain much literary
 538 echo and perhaps are almost entirely derived
 796 from literary sources. As considerable por-
 tions of the *relatos* were secured from Agustín
 Rangel, assistant on the project, who partici-
 pated in both dances in 1940-41, it was felt the
 expense of securing the complete *relatos* was
 not warranted.

535 The following is the *relato* of Agustín
 796 Rangel for the *negrito* dance (spelling as given,
 but punctuation added):

539

First act: Music, followed by a song

Tu tienes! oh! Niño, las adelfas y las Rosas,
 Aun en boton, con purpura brillante.
 Las Azucenas puras y olorosas
 Colores en su tallo vacilante,
 Las amapolas frescas y pomposas,
 Se Abren, Señor, bajo tu mano amante.
 Y del tomillo en las pequeñas ramas
 Mil flores hermosísimas derramas.

Second act: Music, followed by a song

Second caminata, or walking figure

(during which several speak; Agustín's
 part is as follows:)

Bellísimo Niño de amor y de ternura,
 Divina criatura,
 Te doy mi cariño . . .
 (Second speaking part:)
 Haces crecer el Cedro en las montañas
 Y el sauce a la orrilla del torrente,
 Do nacen los helechos y las cañas
 Y las yervas mil en la estación ardiente
 De la tierra fecundas las Entrañas
 Con el Calor y el agua dulcemente
 Y así los campos de verdor revistas
 Tornando alegres los que fueron tristes.

Third act: Music, followed by a song

Con gusto y con amor a ofrecer pasemos
 Felices ya seremos nacido el Salvador.

(The following is sung as they pretend to make offer-
 ings):

Ante tus plantas postrado
 Te ofrece aquí este negrito
 Recibe me niño amado
 Este fino Silloncito.

Fourth act: A dance

Fifth act: Music, followed by a song and the "farewell"

Adios, Niño Santo,
 Con suelo y amor;
 Escucha mi canto
 Niño Salvador.
 Bendice toditos,

[p. 146 b]

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Divino Creador.
Se van los negritos
Y llevan tu amor.

TRANSLATION LINE BY LINE

Thou hast, oh Child, the rosebays and the roses,
Still in bud with brilliant purple.
The white lilies, pure and fragrant,
Colors in their waving stems,
The calm and pompous poppies,
They open, Lord, beneath Thy loving hand.
And from the small branches of the thyme
Scatterest Thou a thousand beautiful blossoms.

Act 2

Lovely Child of love and of tenderness,
Divine creature,
I give you my love.
Thou caustest the cedar in the mountains to grow,
And the willow at the brink of the torrent,
Where the bracken and the canes grow,
And the thousand herbs of the warm season,
From the entrails of the fecund earth
With the heat and the sweet water,
And thus the fields you dress anew with verdure,
Turning gay those who were sad.

Act 3

With pleasure and with love we go to make
offerings,
Happy that now the Savior has been born for us.
Prostrate before your feet
This *negrito* offers Thee,
Receive from me, beloved Child,
This fine little saddle.

Act 5

Farewell, Holy Child,
Comfort and love,
Hear my song,
Child Savior.
Bless everyone,
Divine Creator.
The *negritos* go
And take with them your love.

Fragments of other *relatos* remembered by
Agustín are the following (given in English):

The Holy Child is born in a beautiful arcade in
Bethlehem.

I have come to see your birth and to adore Thee.
Guided by a star, the *negritos* have come to
witness the birth.

(Following this each told where he came from and
the gift he brought: A little burro, a horse, a saddle,
a dog, and different playthings.)

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The main part of the *relato* is recited by a
person known as *el letra* and another called
el segundo. These two stand at the head of the

[p. 142]

535 two files, except for the little girls at that end of
 538 the lines. When the recitation begins, *el*
 596 *letra* steps forward alone and recites his part,
 returning to his place when finished. There is
 then a *caminata*, the files walking in a circle.
El segundo then does the same, followed by a
caminata.

The *negrito* dancers begin to learn their parts
 about a month before December 25. For
 several evenings before the date they meet in
 the house of the *carguero* and rehearse. The
 procedures beginning the night of December
 24 are described as follows in an account
 written by Agustín Rangel:

The *negritos* started to dance about 9:00 p.m. at the
carguero's house. There were lots of people and about
 10:30 the candlemaker came to sell candles. The
negritos finished dancing about 10:30 p.m. Then they
 were given supper and they sat around for a while.
 They were waiting for the bell to ring from the church.
 The bells were supposed to ring three times, first for
 the Holy Child to start for the church, second when the
 Holy Child was supposed to be half way from the
carguero's house and the church, and third, when the
 Holy Child was at the door of the church to be blessed
 before going inside the church. There was a 12 a.m.
 Mass. The priest of the church came over to the
carguero's house before the Holy Child left the house.
 The priest went with the Holy Child up to the church
 where he blessed the Holy Child before going inside
 the church. Lots of people went to the 12 a.m. Mass.
 [373] [Note: There were several hundred persons in the
 procession, all with candles. The streets and houses
 were all lit up by the candles. In some towns it is
 said that pitch pine torches are carried and give even
 more light.]

December 25. Today the *negritos* started to dance
 about 9 o'clock in the morning. First they went to
 Mass and there they danced after the Mass. Then they
 came to the *carguero's* house to eat dinner. After dinner
 they went to church again to visit the Holy Child.
 Then they went home again to the *carguero's* house
 where they danced again. Then they went to the night
 Mass. After the night Mass they went inside the patio
 of the priest's house and danced before him. After
 they finished dancing, they danced in front of the
 municipal building before the mayor and officials.
 After they finished dancing there they went to the
carguero's house to eat supper. They ate supper and
 every one of the *negritos* was free to go home.

December 26. Today the *negritos* started to dance
 first at the *carguero's* house after they had eaten break-
 fast. After they finished dancing at the *carguero's*
 house, they went to the Calvary, where they danced.
 After they finished there they went to Paricutin
 (*barrio IV*) where they danced at a house. I don't
 know what saint is there. Then they went to the house

[p.147b]

535 of the *carguero* of the Three Kings, where they danced
 538 in the afternoon. Then they went to eat at the
 796 *carguero's* house. After they finished eating dinner,
 they danced and then went to the house of the new
carguero, for the Holy Child where they danced until
 the evening. Then they came back to the *carguero's*
 house to eat supper. Then they separated after supper.

December 27. This morning they danced at the
carguero's house and then they went to the house of
 the *carguero* of San Isidro. From there they went to
 the house of [the *carguero* of] San Rafael. Then they
 went to the *carguero's* house for dinner, after which
 they danced. From there they went to the priest's
 house where they danced in front of the priest. Then
 they danced in front of Don Emilio's store where they
 were given fruit.

UNORGANIZED CHRISTMAS DANCES

535 A number of dance groups often appear at or
 796 before Christmas. Collectively they are known
 as the *melebris*, the masqueraders. Formerly,
 they appeared about 10 days before Christmas
 Eve and then appeared every third night until
 December 24. Of recent years they have been
 forbidden because the various groups often
 arrived at the same house and then they would
 fight. In 1940 a few masqueraders were out
 but they went mainly to houses in their own
barrio for fear the police might catch them.

Three types of dancers appear. First are
 the *čurikua anápu turíča* or *sakíč*, "the negroes
 who go out at night." This group wears ordi-
 nary clothing but with the crown of the hat
 decorated with cut papers representing ribbons
 streaming out behind. Dancers of this group
 also wear paper ornaments on the front and
 back of their clothing. They have guitar and
 drum music and dance a *zapateada*, that is, a
 sort of *jarabe tapatio* dance.

The second group is the *t'aič ariríča*, the
 dancing old men. The word "*ari*" also means a
 person who talks too much and who certainly
 does not speak the truth. This group dresses
 [532] like old men; the members wear a long over-
 coat and a black wooden mask with the beard
 represented. The masks are similar to those
 worn by the negroes of Uruapan. Some of the
 dancers are also dressed as women. They have
 five or six stringed instruments. No data were
 collected on the type of dance.

The third group is the *apáčiča* or the *salvajes*
 or *negritos salvajes* (Apaches, savages, or negro
 savages). They paint their faces to resemble
 the negro masks but wear no masks. Rooster

535 feathers are stuck in their hair, and they carry
 796 bows and arrows. Their dance is purely leaping about. They form a circle, leap about, shout, and make gestures with their bows and arrows. They never speak but make a sort of buzzing noise and make signs with an arrow to indicate what they want. They have guitar and drum music.

The three groups are said to signify that when the Christ Child was born, there appeared a star and various persons had to follow the star, performing their dances in various places. The three dances represent those of the tribes of the Three Kings who went in search of the Child. The Apaches were the last and were the most savage.

535 The various groups (and more than one
 584 group may appear for each dance) go about to
 796 various houses where there are unmarried girls or girls approaching marriageable age, and especially to houses where one of the boys has a sweetheart. Usually the girl is warned in advance (through the agency of some small boy) if she is to be visited. She prepares presents of balls of pinole and brown sugar, wrapped in maize husks, often elaborately painted. Sometimes some of these are made in the shape of a rooster or some animal. The girl gives these to the boy who has been courting her if she favors him, and the plain pinole balls to the others. They are also often given food. One of the surreptitious groups in 1940 at a well-to-do house were given coffee with *charanda* in it and boiled squash. When the dancers first enter the house yard, they shake hands with the girl. After eating, they dance a while. Then they say a word of thanks in Tarascan, shake hands with the girl again, and leave. "The idea," said unmarried Agustín, "is just to touch the girl's hand and see how neat her cooking and housework is." Obviously the dances are significant parts of the mating selection, for on almost no other occasion would a boy have a chance to see how a girl's house was run or have a chance to touch her hand openly.

According to one informant, a burlesque of the Mass is given by the dancers. This was not verified from any other source. It is the sort of thing which might sometimes have been done, but it seems foreign to the main purpose of the dances.

[p. 148b]

Sierra Tarascan

THE PASTORELA

535 The *pastorela*, or dance of the shepherds, is
 796 also performed at Christmas time. The dance
 857 is particularly connected with the *cabildo* and
 with the *prioste*. The leaders in the dance are
 the *uanáneces*, the four girls (six according to
 other accounts) who have taken incense and
 flowers to the church during the year and per-
 formed other services at the church. Gener-
 ally they are about 10 years of age. Usually
 the girls have been vowed to the service by their
 parents as the result of illness or some other
 misfortune threatening the child. The time of
 the dance is sometimes called the *fiesta* of
pajácu (meaning not secured).

The *uanáneces* invite a number of other girls
 to participate, 12 in all being needed. The
 girls invited by the *uanáneces* have no responsi-
 bilities other than dancing, but each of the
uanáneces must feed the group for 1 day. The
uanáneces also select adults to represent the
 parts of the devil and the hermit and also select
 the teacher. The girls (all the expenses, of
 course, are borne by their parents) also have
 music to accompany the dance.

For the dance the girls are dressed in the
catrin, i.e. "citified," style, in white dresses with
 straw hats adorned with artificial flowers
 (actually the style is not citified, but is rural
 Mestizo). Owing to the quarrel between the
 priest and the *cabildo*, the *pastorela* was not
 performed in 1940 and the actual dance could
 not be observed. A *relato* (in this case known
 as the *coloquio*) is an important part of the
 performance. One of the songs collected (for
 the *pastorela* of Cheranástico) is as follows
 (spelling as given):

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A que noche tan cremoza
 Ensillad mi buen caballo
 Que en Belen nos conbida de Salvador
 Muy lejos tieras bengo
 Agosar de una pasiada
 Con gusta y contento
 A juntar mi ganadito.

TRANSLATION

Ah, what a beautiful night.
 Saddle my good horse,
 For to Bethlehem the Savior invites us.
 To very distant lands I will arrive.
 I will enjoy a journey,
 With pleasure and content
 To bring together my cattle.

[p. 149a]

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 796 Usually the *pastorela* is given the night of December 24 and for 2 or 3 days afterward. The dancers perform first between the church and the municipal building. Then they visit the houses of the members of the *cabildo* and the various *cargueros*. At the houses they are usually given some fruit.

In 1940 considerable feeling was engendered by the collapse of the *pastorela*, which many believed to be the pleasantest of the various dances, the more moralistic because no one drank in connection with it. Don Inocencio, the father of the first *uanánche*, the *šunánda* or *pári*, wished to give the *pastorela* so that he could comply with the promise he had made when his daughter was sickly as a small child. He was somewhat incensed because the *prioste* had spoken to the other families first and told them they should not give the dance. When Don Inocencio visited the other parents he found them unwilling to go ahead and disgusted with the whole situation. Most extreme was Tomás Hernandez, who said he would not comply with the obligation, even though it should mean losing the 10 pesos he had advanced on behalf of the group to bring the band from Tanaco. Or, he added, he might be willing to bring the band, but he wouldn't give the dance; instead, he would give a big *paránda* or drinking party for the benefit of themselves and not for the town.

Don Inocencio expressed great distress at this attitude. He already had fattened two pigs and expressed himself frequently as willing to go ahead with the *pastorela* if others would help. He appealed to the staff of the investigation to speak to the mayor, asking him to compel the other families to comply with their obligation; or, failing that, for permission to take up a voluntary collection. Clearly, Don Inocencio felt that the families of the other *uanánches* were taking advantage of the dismissal of the *cabildo* to avoid their just obligations.

This suspicion of Don Inocencio's was quite correct in some cases. One of the other family heads stated that the dismissal of the *cabildo* canceled the obligation. Although his daughter had become a *uanánche* in compliance with a vow, her father announced he would not help to give the *pastorela* even though others volun-

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796 tarily contributed to the expenses. One of the more cynical assistants in the investigation pointed out that the attitude was quite understandable, as the man owed a debt of \$160 to a woman in the town, who was trying to force him to pay at least half of it.

The father of another of the *uanánches* stated that with the dismissal of the *prioste* the custom of the *pastorela* had ended and that it was unnecessary to continue. Evidently he did not care for the custom and remarked, "To me it seems best that they dismissed the *prioste*."

Another case is of some interest. Although the girl was not a *uanánche*, her parents had made a vow that she should appear in the *pastorela*. The parents made an arrangement for her to participate in the *pastorela* of Cheranástico. The Cheranástico *pastorela* evidently is somewhat different from that of Cherán. The girl would wear a red dress, a silk handkerchief covering the lower part of her face, a man's hat, and shoes and would be known as a *rancherita*. She would dance opposite a small boy partner called a *ranchero* (rancher). The *pastorela* of Cheranástico is performed January 1.

DANCE OF THE VIEJOS OR EUROPEOS

The dance of the *viejos* or *Europeos* (old men or Europeans) appears in connection with the Three Kings, January 6. Previous to 1940 the dance had been given by a volunteer group. In the afternoons, as men lounged about the streets and talked after work, people would begin to mention that the time for the dance was approaching. Eventually a group would decide that they should organize the dance. They would collect money among themselves and others and hire musicians and a teacher. In 1940, however, the *carguero* of the Three Kings, announced that giving the dance was properly part of the *mayordomía* and undertook to organize the dancers, pay the teacher and musicians, and provide food for the dancers.

The group in 1940 consisted of 30 *viejos* (but not all of them appeared all the time), three kings, and five *pastorcitas* or shepherdesses. (There should have been only four shepherdesses; we were unable to learn the reason for the extra one. Possibly someone asked to participate after the four were chosen or there

535 were reasons why the *carguero* felt it would be
 796 politic to ask five different families.) The
 [532] *viejos* were mostly young men, but married men
 participated in this dance. They wore *vestido*
de catrin, "city dress," including a long black
 overcoat for preference, a felt hat with a colored
 ribbon for the hat band and artificial flowers
 attached, a muffler, a handkerchief about the
 head, shoes, and a well-made white wooden
 mask with black or golden beard, the features
 being very European.

The kings also wore masks; one was white,
 one rose-colored, and one black (one of the
 images of the Three Kings is also black).
 They also wore a long white wig surmounted
 by a crown, each one different; a long, inten-
 tionally ragged cape of colored material (really
 a smock in 1940); petticoats or trousers of
 rayon with cotton trousers underneath; rose-
 colored cotton stockings; and shoes (although
 they could wear *huaraches* or sandals). The
 kings merely sit or stand and do not dance.
 The shepherdesses are dressed in the same
 fashion as those for the *negrito* dance.

The dancers provide their own costumes.
 The cost of a *viejo* costume is as follows:

[435]	Mask (\$1.50 to 2.50, rent; \$5, purchase)	\$ 2.50
	Hat	2.00
	Overcoat	3.00
	Pants and vest	2.50
	Muffler	1.50
	<i>Incarachs</i> (hat band?)	.50
	Flowers	1.50
	Shoes	\$5.00-\$10.00
	Shirt	5.00
	Necktie	.50
	Total (with shoes, \$25-\$29) ...	\$19.00

All the items listed above are for rent except
 the shirt, which is purchased. If the dancer
 had no shoes, he normally bought a pair.

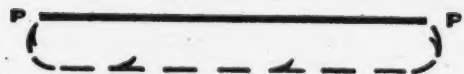
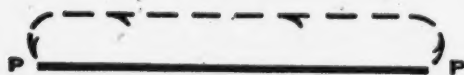
[532] The local masks are expensive and are re-
 garded as inferior. Those from Sevina and
 Cheranástico are said to be cheaper and better.
 The masks of the kings in 1940 were inferior
 local products; good masks had been ordered
 from Sevina but did not arrive in time.

The early part of the dance is really a recita-
 tion. The *viejos* form in two files, each with a
 shepherdess at each end (two at one end in
 1940), with the three kings facing the files at

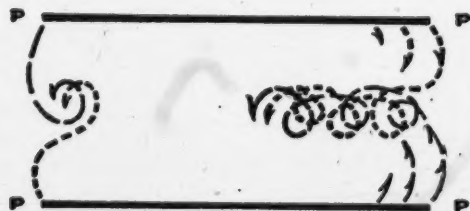
535 one end. First spoke a *letra* (in 1940 Agustín
796 Rangel, assistant in the study), who gave an
introduction (see below), walking up and down
between the files and describing the events of
the birth of Christ and the Three Kings. Then
all made a circuit (fig. 17). After this, every-
one (except the Three Kings but including the
shepherdesses) stepped between the lines in



a



b



c

FIGURE 17.—Dance of the *Europeos*, showing various dance figures. a, Basic position at start of dance and in which all figures end. b, Circling movement. c, Movements of paired dancers, executed by each pair in turn, reversing the figure to return to their original position. P indicates the *pastores*; the numerals indicate the Three Kings.

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796 pairs, speaking a *relato* referring to events that had happened in those days. Then they sang a song, making another circuit. After this, the Three Kings marched between the files to the opposite end, where they were met by one of the pairs, the shepherdesses first. The Kings returned to their position, followed by the pair of dancers. Each dancer then spoke a brief verse, telling what he had brought to the Christ Child. The Kings answered. The others sang without words during this event except while the dancers spoke. This was repeated for each pair of dancers.

A pair of dancers from each end of the line now passed down the files until they met one another. Each pair held hands and danced in a circle, then reversed to the original position. The pairs then returned to their position and were followed by the others until all had danced. The *letra* then spoke a closing piece, telling everyone they should be gay. After this, each pair in succession danced a *jarabe* between the files from one end to the other. If a dancer performed very well and with much spirit, the others cried out in a falsetto voice. Sometimes they did this anyway for pleasure.

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796 The *relato* of the *letra* or leader in 1940 was that composed by Gregorio Castillo and went as follows (spelling and punctuation as given):

No duda, bien lo Sabeis
Mis respetables ancianos;
El 25 del mes.
De Diciembre en la locacion:
Bajo hay del alto cielo,
Han acer en esta suela
Nuestro Dios de predencia.
Al instante los pastores,
Sabidos del gran portento;
Salen preste en el momento,
A visitar el Señor.
Dejando el campo y ganado
Asi como sus cabañas;
Ven por bosques y montanas,
Y con crecido contento,
van a ver el nacimiento
Del Niño Jesus amado.
Cuando contaba ocho dias
De nacido el Niño Amado
Fue tambien cir convencido
El verdadero meeias.
Compañeros Veteranos,
Recordar el 6 de enero
Fiesta de la epiphania,
Fue de gloria el feliz dia;

[9, 1516]

Sierra Tarascans

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Del bellísimo lucero,
Fue la manifestación,
Del Niño Dios y Señor;
Por eso con todo amor;
Vamos a su adoración.

Canto: 1ª caminata

Salid presuros,
Las glorias cantando;
Al Niño en sal sando
Cantos de amor.

1ª Relato

También Los Reyes de Oriente,
Manchan en este momento;
De Dios Niño al Nacimiento,
A ver a mi portente.
Luz de vina los va guiando
Y van a la adoración,
En tan feliz ocasión,
La gloria le van cantando.

Ofrecimiento—Canto

Pasad al monto,
Con gusto y amor,
Ofrecer al Niño,
Amor y consuelo.
Ofrece
Te veo en humildes pajitas,
Y me postre en el instante,
Yo te adoro Niño Amante,
Y te ofresco estas conchitas.
(Pide el baile al terminar los
ofrecimientos de todos.)

Baile

Pues todos nos complacemos
Yavimos tu Nacimiento
Y Todos con gusto estamos
Porque felices seremos;—
Niño Dios, bello portento,
En grupo todos nos vamos;
Al terminar la Vecita;
Mas en nuestros corazones;
Todos Fidos te llevamos;
Jamás, jamás nos olvides,
Hoy te dicen toditos,
Hasta el año Venidero
Mas todos con Alegria
Vimos ya tus Maravillas:
¡Oh! Ninito Salvador,
Permítanos gran Señor,
Que con gusta te bailemos
Unos alegres cuadrillas;
En tan felices momentos
Adios digo compañeros,
Toquen ya los instrumentos
Y los sonos abajemos—

Después del Canto

Musica

535 Ya nos retiremos,
539 Del lugar Sagrado;
796 Llovando nos vamos,
Oh! Jesus amado.

TRANSLATION

Do not doubt it, well you know it,
My respectable ancients,
The 25th of the month
Of December in the location
There below the high heavens
Has been born on this earth
Our Lord who takes precedence.
Instantly the shepherds,
Knowing of the great portent,
Started quickly at that moment
To visit the Lord.
Leaving the fields and the cattle
As well as their cabins;
They went through woods and mountains,
And with growing contentment,
Went to see the birth
Of the beloved Child Jesus.
When eight days were counted
From the birth of the beloved Child,
Likewise were made neighborly
The true union [meaning unclear].
Veteran comrades,
Remember the sixth of January
Feast of the Epiphany,
That happy day was glorious.
From the beautiful morning star
Came the manifestation
Of the Child, God and Lord;
For this with all love
We go to adore Him.

1st walking interval. Song

Go forth hastily
Singing the glories;
To the Child raising
Songs of love.

1st relation

Also the Kings of the East
March at this moment;
Of God the Child at the birthplace
To see my portent.
Divine Light guided them
And they went to the adoration,
On such a happy occasion,
They went singing the glories.

Offering—Song

Pass to the amount [meaning unclear]
With pleasure and love,
Offer to the Child
Love and consolation.

[p. 152b]

The Offering

535 I see Thee on humble straw
 539 And I prostrate myself instantly,
 796 I adore Thee, loving Child,
 And I offer Thee these little shells.
 (The dance is asked for when the
 offerings are ended.)

Dance

Well, we all are pleased,
 Now we have seen your birth,
 And all are pleased
 Because we will be happy.
 Child God, beautiful portent,
 Together we all go
 To put an end to the visit.
 Moreover in our hearts
 All faithful we carry Thee.
 Never, never forget us,
 Today all tell Thee,
 Until the coming year,
 But all with joy,
 Now we have seen your marvels;
 Oh, little Child Savior,
 Permit us great Lord,
 That with pleasure we dance for Thee
 Some joyous quadrilles.
 In such happy moments,
 I say "farewell companions."
 Let the instruments play
 And the lowland tunes . . . [Meaning
 not clear—possibly *abajenos* is meant,
 not *abajemos*, that is, "tunes of the
 low country."]

After the song, music is played

Now we take ourselves away
 From the Sacred place.
 Weeping [?] we go,
 Oh! beloved Jesus.

535 The style of delivery of these *relatos* was
 538 highly declamatory and monotonous. The
 796 words were spoken in a level tone without
 inflection or other interpretation of their
 meaning.

The sense of a few of the other individual
relatos was secured. One dancer said he was
 very old, so old he couldn't walk on level ground.
 If he couldn't walk on level ground, how was he
 going to walk downhill? Nevertheless, he was
 going to the place of the Holy Child anyway.
 Another said that if he got tired walking, he
 would go on his knees to visit the Child, even
 though they were scratched. Yet another com-
 plained of his high squeaky voice, but even if
 his voice gave out, he still would go to the Holy

535 Child. The performer with the latter lines
 796 was the only one who managed to make the
 [538] crowd laugh. The remainder were greeted in
 [626] silence or by asides criticizing their performance, especially several who had not learned their lines very well.

The dancers practiced at the house of the *carguero* of the Three Kings on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. The *carguero* provided food for all the performers. The ceremonies proper began on Sunday in the late afternoon. The following is the account of the proceedings as written by Agustín Rangel.

January 5, 1941. On Sunday we started for the Calvary from the house of the *carguero* at about 5 p.m. The Three Kings went on horseback. At the Calvary the Three Kings took the star (a star on the end of the pole). The King in the middle took the star and the Kings on either side took hold of a ribbon tied on each side. Then we started for the *carguero's* house where we were supposed to take the saint to the church. At the church we left the saint where a vespers was given for it. Then we started for the *carguero's* house where we danced. Then supper was served. Before we left, the *carguero* told us that on the next morning we had to be at his house about 6:30 a.m. [According to one informant, customarily the group should have danced at the church.]

January 6. I arrived at the *carguero's* house about 6:00 a.m. After a little, they told me to go around on some of the streets with the musicians and tell the other guys to hurry up and get over to the *carguero's* house. When the bell rang for the long Mass we all left for church. After the long Mass the priest told us we could not dance until after the Rosary. We then left for the *carguero's* house where we ate breakfast. After breakfast we danced at the *carguero's* house. We did nothing all day until after the Rosary. We went to the Rosary; after we came out we danced in the priest's house, then we danced in front of the church. After that we danced in front of the municipal building. From there we went to the house of the new *carguero* of the Holy Child where we danced and we were given oranges after we danced. Then we went home (to the *carguero's* house) where we danced before eating supper. Then we went home and were told to be at the *carguero's* house about 7:00 a.m.

January 7. On this morning we went to the church after the Mass. We were to take the Holy Kings to the house of the new *carguero*. We started from the church and we headed for the new *carguero's* house where we arrived and left it [the images] there. They told us to sit down and we were given *atole de cacao* (black *atole*). We danced before the *atole* was served and after that we left for the *carguero's* house to eat breakfast. After breakfast we headed for the Calvary where we danced. Then we headed for Bruno Gaspar's house

535 where we danced and were given oranges. We then
796 went to the house of [the *carguero* of] San Antonio, where we danced and were not given anything. From there we went to the store of Victoriano Turja where we danced and were given 1 liter of *aguardiente*. Then we left for the meat market of one of the *cargueros* of the Holy Kings [he means one of the principals], Don Ygnacio Duran, where we danced and recited the *relato*, the whole works, and were given oranges. From there we left for the house of [the *carguero* of] Santa Nieves, where we danced and were given money, 1 centavo apiece. From there we went to the house [of the *carguero* of] Our Lady of Guadalupe where we danced and were given limes. From there we came dancing what they call a *carnival* through the streets to the store of Don Hilario (Xhembe) where we were given sugarcane. Then we left for the *carguero's* house to eat supper. We were told to be early at his house the next morning.

January 8. The next morning we started to dance about 9 a.m. from the *carguero's* house. We went to the house of Rosalio [*representante* or representative of the town], where we danced and were given oranges. From there we went to the house of Crescencio Hernandez where they gave us a 50-centavo piece because she said [the mistress of the house] that they had not expected us to come and dance at the house. Then we went to a house on Galeana and Allende where we danced and where we were not given anything because he [the house owner] said he wasn't expecting us. Then we danced to one of the *carguero's* of the Holy Kings [meaning principal again] where we were given oranges. From there we went to the house of [the *carguero* of] San Isidro where we danced and were given oranges. Then we went to [the *barrio* of] Paricutin to the place of the Virgin Inéz; there we danced and were given oranges. Then from there we went to the house of the *carguero* of some saint near the barranca of Paricutin where we danced and were not given anything. Then we went to the house on the corner of Rayon and Comercio streets where we danced and were given oranges. Then we headed for the *carguero's* house to eat dinner. After dinner, we then went to the house of the Miraculous Holy Christ where we danced and were not given anything because we started to grab the oranges from the basket and the woman got sore and didn't give us anything. Then we left for the house of Don Jesús Velasquez (the main marriage manager), where we danced and were given oranges. He had invited us to go over to his house and dance. From there we went to Ricardo Querriapa where the saint of San Anselmo is. There we danced and were given oranges. But this time some of the *visijos* had separated and some of them had gone to the plaza. After we finished dancing at that lady's house we then danced at the store of Alberto Muñoz where we were not given anything. Then the Doctor invited us over to dance in front of his office. After we got through, the Doctor flipped a peso to see who would get it. One of the *visijos* got it and got drunk

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with the peso. From the plaza we then went west over to the store of Don Emilio Rojas where we danced and were given a 50-centavo piece. From there we then came over to the house of Rafael Castillo, where we danced and were given two packages of cigarettes. From there we went over to the store of Benito Pahuamba, where we danced and were given a bottle of sherry. From there we went over to the *carguero's* house to eat supper, but before we ate we danced the whole works. Then we ate supper and after that they gave each of the *viejos* a loaf of white bread. But before, when we were dancing and reciting, the *carguero's* wife began to pass out sugarcane and oranges and then we went to eat. After supper we danced for a little while, up to about 11 p.m., and then we went home. We danced [this time] because that was the *combate* for this year's *mayordomía* for Don Aurelio. [The last sentence is obscure. Don Aurelio was the *carguero* for the succeeding year.]

Ordinarily the dancers appear again for 1 day at the time of Candelaria, February 2, reciting the same *relatos* but without the Three Kings. For 1941 one man had agreed to pay for the music and two others had agreed to provide food for the dancers, but for some reason the arrangement fell through. On the vespers of Candelaria, people burn pitch pine (*ocote*) in front of their lots.

OTHER DANCES

[857]

On January 1 a group of children, 6 to 8 years old, dances in the day time. Six boys and six girls participate and are called *taré sapiratiča*, or the "little old men." They go to church very early in the morning and change the image of the Holy Child, which had been placed in a reclining position in a crib on December 25, placing it in a sitting position. After the Mass the children go to the house of the *colector*, where they breakfast and dance. They then go to the house of the *képi* and dance. Later they go to some other houses to dance. At midday they eat at the house of the *colector* again. The dance is performed to music furnished by wind instruments. It apparently attracts little attention and often is not performed. A former *colector* stated the girls are the *uanánches* for the ensuing year, but this fact seemed not to be generally known.

In connection with the *mayordomía* of Santa Nieves or the Virgin of the Snows, a group of girls performs a dance on August 5 for 1 day to music of wind instruments. The dance is

535 known as the caballita uazárica dance of the
● 796 little horses. The figures of horses are made
[532] of withes from certain plants, with openings in
the middle in which the girls stand. The head
is made so it can move, and the dance consists
mostly of the girls standing and moving the
horses' heads in time to the music. Again,
little attention is paid to the dance, and the
carguero often does not arrange to have it
performed.

In connection with the fiesta of the Virgin
of Guadalupe, the *carguero* ordinarily arranges
a dance known as the uáris. The dancers con-
sist simply of unmarried girls and young
women who dress in the traditional costume
but perhaps with a few more ornaments than
usual. They dance the usual Cherán fiesta
dance in the streets.

DANCES IN OTHER TOWNS

Only a few dances were observed or learned
of in other towns. The *pastorela* of Capacuaro
was the most thoroughly studied, but the data
remain superficial and unrelated to the cere-
monial setting. The dancers are connected
with the *carguero* for the December 25th cere-
monies. A pole is erected in his patio with a
large paper lantern suspended from the top
(this is done by the *képi* at Cherán, but use of
this term was denied at Capacuaro) and a stage
is erected at one end of the patio on which
some of the *relatos* are given. The house is
also decorated with paper flowers and pine
boughs. A table altar on the porch has a
creche with miniature figures. The dancers
appear for 3 days at Christmas and again on
January 1. On Christmas Eve it is claimed
that they perform a very long *colloquio*, lasting
18 hours without repetition, on the stage at the
carguero's house. Doubt of this statement
seems indicated.

292 The dancers consist of between 35 and 40
535 *rancheritas* and *rancheritos*, boys and girls of
796 8 to 12. In addition, there were two "hermits"
or *hermitaños*, dressed as friars with gray robes
and a conical cap. They wore a rosary and
carried a whip, serving, among other functions,
[532] as police (pl. 6, upper right). Two *Europeos*
were dressed in white wooden masks with long
blonde wigs of goat hair, citified clothes, and
boots (pl. 6, lower right). Three "devils" or

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"demons" were dressed in black, wearing a crown of feathers on the back of the head, with a black veil over most of the face. The devils bore such names as "cunning," *astucia*. Some of the dancers were dressed as ranchers. Two small boys represented angels (one, Michael, with a sword), but the majority were dressed in shepherd's costumes. The girls wore loose blouses, fairly long full skirts, straw hats with ribbons, and shoes. The boys wore satin blouses and bloomers, stockings, shoes, and straw hats. Pinks, blues, and whites predominated in the costumes. Both sexes carried shepherd's crooks, decorated with celluloid animals, ribbons, balls of yarn, and feathers.

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The performance begins with a long *relato* by the devils in which they talk about a journey they are going to make, the curious things they are going to see, etc. Then a *ranchera* and a *ranchero* dance a *jarabe*. The other *rancheros* supervise the two files of children. Then there is a *relato* by the dancers. Then the dancers give their crooks to friends or relatives and dance. The *Europeos* dance about the files of children alone or occasionally with the hermits. The devils and the hermits, on the other hand, constantly engage in byplay, pursuing one another. Occasionally one or two of the devils will capture a hermit and force him to dance along with them. Also, from time to time the hermits use their whips to keep the children from crowding in too much on the dancers.

[522]

The *hermitaños* were special buffoons. One was seen "praying" before the church with his hands together but with both thumbs to his nose. Boys threw bits of stick or pebbles at them; the *hermitaños* would threaten the crowd with their whips or if they identified the offender, would pursue him with their whips—and sometimes used them if the stones had been too big.

The dances are performed first in front of the church before the saints' images, which are brought out of the church for this. Then the dancers eat in the house of the *carguero*, after which they dance. Then they go to various houses and dance. The householders give them fruit, sugarcane, peanuts, or other small gifts. Then they return to the house of the *carguero* to eat once more.

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At primarily Mestizo San Juan Parangaricutiro on January 7 a dance of *Europeos* was observed. The two main dancers were a man and woman in burlesque of *catrin-ranchero* costumes (the "woman" was a man dressed in women's clothes). The woman wore a straw hat with artificial flowers, a well-made white wooden mask of a European woman's face, a cloth enveloping all of the head not covered by the mask, a yellow waist, and a black *ranchera's* skirt with a beautifully embroidered yellow silk apron, gloves, and a handbag. In her hands she carried a narrow woman's sash. The man wore a white wig with ribbons, white mask with black beard and attractive features, a sweater, a *moro* dancer's cape (but worn a little lower than the *moro* dancer does, so the mirror was over the man's buttocks), and several women's aprons of silk or rayon hung from about his neck. About his legs from the knees down were wrapped numerous women's belts and about his ankles were copper bells. Over one shoulder he carried a stick with one end carved into a burro's head, adorned with ribbons and with a bell hung from the neck of the burro.

The other dancers were dressed somewhat like the male leader, except the cape was black with an opening like that of a serape although worn as a cape. The lining of the cape was in brilliant colors of silk or rayon. Ornamentation of the cape was done with colored sequins. Otherwise the costume was the same, but no stick was carried.

The dance music varied according to various aspects of the dance, changes being indicated by the male leader ringing his bell. The dancers formed in two files, with the male leader at the head of one file, the woman leader at the head of the other. When the music began, the dancers leaped in the air several times and shouted in a high voice. Then the files performed several circuits; the one headed by the male making its circuit first, followed by the other. Following the circuits the dancers performed a sort of *jarabe*, but remained in one place. From time to time they leaped high in the air (individually), shouting in a falsetto voice. As they came down they spread their capes wide and, with hair and aprons flying in

[p. 156a]

Sierra Tarascans

Mestizo

535 all directions, they resembled some impossible
 ● 796 bird.

Following this performance, the "woman" danced alone between the files, taking very small steps and with her nose high in the air. The sash she carried in her two hands at about shoulder height, raising first one hand and then the other. With her handbag dangling from one wrist, she was the perfect caricature of a *nouveau riche* young lady parading down the street. Next, the man and woman leaders danced a *jarabe tapatio* very well (except they did not use the hat) although in very restrained and "correct" fashion. Meanwhile the others danced in their places and leaped in the air and cried out from time to time.

The dance is said to be held by the young men, who organize it themselves and provide the music and meals. It follows a traditional pattern, however, in that among the first places in which the dances were performed were the house of the priest and the offices of the *municipio*.

In Parícutin the dance of the fiesta of the patron saint is apparently called either *sondado uaran* or *turiñauarani*. The dancers wear "citified" or *catrin* clothes with masks.

Dances are also reported from some of the Mestizo towns and the *ranchos* lying along the borders of Cherán. From Tingambato a dance was brought to the Eucharist Congress held in Uruapan which much resembles in costume the feather dances of Oaxaca. A deer dance is reported from La Mojonera and Las Canoas in which the dancers wear striped or checkered clothing and have the face covered by a mask of a deer with horns. The dance is performed [534] to a tin rattle, violin, and guitar of the special type known as *panzón*, that is, one with a large sounding box. The actions of the animal are represented in the dance.

MUSICIANS

533 Frequent reference has been made elsewhere to the musicians. The organized bands are essentially parts of the ceremonial system; without them no fiesta would be complete, while they form a significant part of many *mayordomías* and dances. They appear for a great many individual functions also, such as weddings and house-roofing fiestas. As a public body they

[p.215a]

Sierra Tarascans

La Cañada

252 extensively in all La Cañada towns and is much
262 liked.

One of the favorite meat dishes in Chilchota is not unlike the *curipo* of the Tarascans and is called "*espinazo*." It is a broth made from the backbone of the pig, flavored with chile and including cooked bitter prickly pears known as *jococoxtles*. The broth is usually accompanied by boiled rice.

237 Not much sausage is made in Chilchota, but
252 the blood of the pig is greatly liked, both in
262 Chilchota and the Tarascan towns of La

[text continues on top of p.215b]

APPENDIX 2

THE CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

121 The following information on the ceremonial
organization of Chilchota was collected by
Pedro Carrasco. Due to political struggles,
[578] the ceremonial organization was not in existence
from 1932 to 1940. The data given are repre-
sentative of conditions as they existed before
1932, amplified by data on the partial revival
of the ceremonial life of the town in 1940 (the
differences are indicated by past and present
tenses). The organization and the observances
present many interesting parallels and differ-
ences from Cherán, particularly in view of the
fact that Chilchota is a Mestizo town today.
Carrasco found only one man of about 90 who
had been reared in a Tarascan-speaking family;
nevertheless, culturally Chilchota evidently is
still somewhat of a Tarascan town. Many
Tarascan words survive and such old institu-
tions as the hospital are better preserved than
in many Tarascan towns.

796 The ceremonial organization is linked with
621 division of the town into *barrios* of San Juan
and San Pedro. Two other *barrios* exist, Uren
and Chapala, but they appear to be recent addi-
tions and, unless otherwise specified, only the
first two *barrios* are referred to. The principal
796 ceremonial offices and their relation to the
624 *barrios* are as follows:

Oficio	Barrio
Mayordomo of the Hospital.....	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro

[text continues on middle of p.215b]

[P 215B]

Sierra Tarascans

La Cabaña

252 Cañada. The blood is placed in the cleaned
262 entrails, together with other visceral parts of
237 the animal, which have been cut into small
pieces, *silantro*, chile, and onion. At some point
the mixture is cooked. By the time the product
is sold, the blood has solidified. The purchasers
remove the mixture from the casings, mill it
on the metate with water, and fry it with lard.

Bread of the type known in Tarascan towns
as *pan grueso* is made in Chilchota. Most
bread, however, is brought from the larger
neighboring town of Tangancicuaro.

APPENDIX 2

ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

Oficio	Barrio
Mayordomo of the patron saint, Santiago	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro
Carguero of San Roque or Karačakape	Barrio of San Juan
Carguero of San Nicolás	Barrio of San Pedro
Two vaqueros	One from each barrio
Four roseras ¹ or nánanatis	Two from each barrio
Two regidores	One from each barrio

¹ One of the roseras is called *pandomperi*, and one *capismore*.
They are always of different barrios, the positions alternating from
one barrio to the other each year.

All these individuals are called *cargueros*.
It is they who bear the expense of all religious
festivals.

[184] Unlike Cherán, this group of *cargueros* forms
a hierarchy through which individuals pass,
ultimately to become one of the *viejos princi-
pales* (principal old men) or *tarépití*. The
sequence is as given, the first position being
that of *mayordomo* of the hospital, then *mayor-
domo* of Santiago, then either *carguero* of San
Roque or of San Nicolás, depending on the
carguero's barrio, then *vaquero* (while female
members of his family serve as *roseras*), and
finally *regidor*. After this the *carguero* is an
"old man," a principal. The old men and the
cargueros who have occupied the positions of
both *mayordomo* of the hospital and *mayordomo*
of Santiago form the group known as the
cabildo.

In addition to the hierarchical offices, there
are a number of minor positions, the most

- 796 important being that of the *čičiua*. A *fiscal* looks after cattle belonging to the Virgin of the hospital and acts as a sacristan. A *topil* (a Maya word) rings the church bells and does errands for the *mayordomo* of the hospital. The *regidores* each have two messengers, the *mayor* or *petajpi* and the *katapi*. One of the duties of the latter is to chase dogs away during the fiestas, for which reason he is known as the "dog frightener," *uīčariri*.

624 A person wishing to take a ceremonial office makes his petition to the *regidor* (of his *barrio*?), taking bread, chocolate, and liquor. [431] The *regidor* consults with the *cabildo* regarding the matter, but he cannot accept the gifts unless the person receives the office. Apparently the *regidores* function primarily as the administrative officials of the *cabildo*. They are said also to have functions with respect to the Indian population in La Cañada. Indians visiting Chilchota on business often consult with the *regidores* and, if the matter is one involving the court or *juzgado*, the *regidor* acts as intermediary and advocate of the Indian's cause.

Decision regarding the offices is reached by the *cabildo* before December 12. On this day the new *cargueros* assemble at the hospital where the wife of the *mayordomo* places a crown on each one; this ceremony installs them in office, although some apparently do not take up their duties until later.

The most important meeting of the *cabildo* is on the day of Candelaria (February 2). The principals and the *cargueros*, old and new, who have passed the office of *mayordomo* of Santiago, meet about 10 o'clock in the morning in the patio outside the chapel of the hospital. Men and women (wives of the men?) form two groups. The men are seated on chairs along the sides of a table covered with mats of tule. The *regidores* take seats at each end. The women are arranged in similar fashion but kneeling on mats on each side of a row of tule mats placed on the ground. The *regidores* evidently take their places first. As each person arrives, he kisses a cross placed in a little shelter before the chapel. He then goes to the *regidores*, crosses himself, and kisses the staffs of the *regidores*. He then takes his place.

Each of the *roseras* must bring two sugar-canes for each person and a bottle of liquor for

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each *regidor*. Each *regidor* makes a speech in Tarascan, called *uandakua*, after which they begin to drink *čarape* and to receive blessed wax. For lunch they eat *menudo*, while for dinner they eat *čuripo* and *nákatamales*. They continue drinking until about 5 o'clock, when they go to the house of the new *mayordomo* of Santiago and continue drinking until night.

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Two days after Candelaria the *roseras* ring bells in the hospital to call the boys and girls of the town to get firewood for the hospital. The boys and girls go to the mountains for a week, chaperoned by the *roseras*, and accumulate enough wood for the needs of the hospital for a year.

On Monday of Carnival the images of San Nicolás are taken from the houses of the old *cargueros* to the houses of the new. Similar fiestas are held in each case. The evening before, the new *carguero* assembles boys to go to the place called Cerro Viejo to get flowers known as *kanfnšikuas*. The boys are fed tortillas with pork and beans. They are also given liquor to drink on the trip. When the boys return they are met with music, and *cohetes* are fired off. Three cane arches are decorated with the flowers, one for the gate, one for the door of the room occupied by the image of the saint, and one over the image inside the room.

On Tuesday are changed the four *vaqueritas* ("little cow girls"), two virgin girls from each *barrio*, who are overseen by the *vaqueros*. On the roof of the houses of old and new *vaqueros* are placed banners with red figures. Boys climb up and remove the banners, giving them to the house owners, who give the boys a bottle of *aguardiente*. (According to another informant, the banners are placed in a tree 8 days in advance.) The boys later make bulls of mats and hides and play at bull fighting in the streets. Each *barrio* has two "bulls," with musicians accompanying them. The boys give presents of sugarcane to the girls, who, in return, give them *čapatas*. In the evening there is a concert in the plaza and much breaking of confetti-filled eggshells. Arches with the *kanfnšikua* flowers are made for the *vaqueritas*.

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At a period believed to be before 1900, actual bull fights were held. Women called *vaqueras*, who were hired by the *roseras*, did the bull

[p.217a]

Sierra Tarascan

La Cañada

541 fighting (of which no further details were
796 learned). Some women appeared every year. They wore dresses of red bayeta, a white kerchief on the head, and a felt hat. Two kerchiefs were crossed on the body (breast?) and another was used to tease the bull. A machete was carried on the shoulder.

796 On these occasions the image of the Virgin of the hospital was taken out and handfuls of tiny confections, of the size of silantro seeds, were scattered. The boys and girls broke many eggshells filled with confetti. The boys struck the girls with sugarcane when possible and the girls retaliated with *chapatas* wrapped in napkins.

On Ash Wednesday the *cargueros* assembled in the houses of the *vaquero* and *karačakape*. Piles of oranges, limes, ashes, and earth were placed in the yards, and men and women fought. The oranges and limes were blackened with charcoal and thrown, as were ashes and earth. When the game became violent, a woman struck a shake with a stick and called "peace, peace." The game then stopped.

The passion of Christ was once represented. On Thursday of Holy Week, the imprisonment of Christ was represented, many youths dressing as Jews and soldiers. Friday the image was taken in procession, decorated with laurel, roses, bananas, *chapatas*, and flour tamales.

Normally processions were held three times a year, Holy Thursday, the Friday of Sorrows, and Corpus. The same images were used each time. The image of Jesus the Nazarene was dressed in dark tunic, a cord at the belt, and the stretcher decorated with field flowers. Boys carried the stretcher. Anyone wishing to participate dressed himself in a black tunic and bonnet and went out to gather flowers. The boys were called Judas. The images of Mary Magdalene and the Virgin were also taken in the procession. The image of the Virgin was in the special charge of the *roseras*, who dressed it and prepared the stretcher with flowers. The *pendompari* carried a standard (*pendon*), from which her name is derived, while the *capitamoro* carried a spray of flowers. Both went ahead of the Virgin. The *fiscal* carried an incense burner at the head of the procession. Twelve boys dressed in red tunics represented the Twelve Apostles.

[P. 217b]

Sierra Tarascans

La Cañada

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On Palm Sunday palms brought from the hot country are taken to the church to be blessed. Formerly a more elaborate observance was held. An image representing Christ was mounted on the image of a burro called San Ramos. The images were carried on a stretcher to the spring supplying water and were put in a little shrine made of flowers. To this spot came youths who had left 2 weeks earlier to secure palms. The youths came down to the spring from a place called La Mesa, wearing carnations and little gourds about their necks and cracking their whips. The girls brought music for dancing and also provided *čurípo* and *kurúndas*. About 5 o'clock in the afternoon all went with the palms to the church.

On Holy Thursday there formerly was a market at which the principal goods sold were clothing and fruit from the hot country. People purchased the latter to make offerings to the church for the decoration of the altar.

[755] Holy Saturday the girls carried small, highly decorated jars of water to be blessed. These were used later to cure the sick and to protect from "fright" (*espanto*). When the church bells ring, children and fruit trees are shaken so that they will grow more rapidly. Images of Judas are burned on the street corners at this moment also. They are provided by anyone who feels like doing so.

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In April the *regidor* notifies the youths to clean the spring. The boys provide music and the girls bring them *čurípo* and *kurúndas*.

The day of the Assumption, most people go to the fiesta at the town of Huáncito. On their return, the wild honey collectors go through the streets announcing the fiesta of Corpus. They play the *chirimía* and make a special cry called *pitakuri*.

Two days before the fiesta of Corpus, bread is made in all the houses. The night before Corpus, each *barrio* hires musicians to play. On the day of Corpus the girls bathe at the spring. On their return they dress for church. In the afternoon, boys and girls gather and present each other with fruit and trinkets.

The following day there is a large fiesta in the plaza. The ox drivers bring out their oxen with the yokes decorated with silk kerchiefs, ribbons, and flowers. The drivers also decorate their hats with flowers and their goads with

- 796 ribbons and flowers at the points. Persons of other occupations also appear similarly decorated. All throw objects at the onlookers. The ox drivers scatter seeds, the muleteers throw flour and bran, the breadmakers throw bread, the overseers scatter ink. The honey gatherers collect many honeycombs from the mountains to sell and give away. One is placed at a corner of the plaza on a greased pole. The leader of the honey gatherers on this day is called kurindure. The butchers station themselves in one of the arcades of the plaza and butcher a goat, whose blood is thrown at the people. One of the butchers disguises himself as a coyote and steals a piece of meat; the others pursue him about the plaza.

- [515] On the day of San Juan, June 24, both sexes bathe early in the morning. The youths provide musicians, who play while the girls are bathing. In the houses where there is a person named Juan, a roll is placed between small boards tied with a cord. Youths on horseback [533] try to seize the roll with their hands. The cord is jerked as they ride past, in order to make the task harder. The same is done on the day of San Pedro in the houses where there is someone named Pedro.

- 535 On the day of Santiago, *moros* and soldiers dance. The *moros* always come from the *barrio* of the *mayordomo*, while the soldiers come from the other *barrio*. They dance on the 25th and 26th, first in the chapel of the hospital, then in the priest's residence, then in the house of the mayor of the town, and then in private houses where they are given presents of fruit. Each group has a first and second captain. Each pays for 1 day of the music and serves a meal in his house. The *mayordomo* of Santiago has no expense except the Mass and another group of musicians who play at the church. The dancers gather to practice the evening before the day of Santiago at the house of the *regidor*. The *roseras* give a supper of *curípo* and *kurúndaa*. The fiesta is called *tzindakua*.

- 796 On the day of the Conception, youths and girls take musicians to the Virgin and sing [533] *las mañanitas* to her in the church.

On December 12 the image of the Virgin in the hospital is removed from the altar and placed in the middle of the chapel. Girls and boys become "brothers and sisters" by crossing

● 796

themselves, kissing the image, and wearing a crown for a few minutes. Alms are given and the boy and girl are then "*hermanos*." During the day girls put on the dress of the Tarascan girl, *uári*, and go about to the stores offering tamales for sale in the manner of the Indians. Boys sing *pastores* in private houses and are given *aguardiente*.

The day of Christmas Eve, the *pendompari* goes about with musicians singing *pastores* (pastorals) to the houses of the *cabildo*, where she makes presents of *buñuelos*. In return each gives the *pendompari* 50 centavos and charape. With the money the *pendompari* pays for the Mass said on Holy Thursday.

One month before Christmas Eve the *čičiua* prepares figures representing the birth of Christ in his house. These are taken to the image of the Holy Child. The day of Christmas Eve, people watch and burn candles before the image until 11 p. m. Quantities of *buñuelos* and *nákatamales* are made for the *cabildo*. At 11 o'clock, the image of the Holy Child (which apparently is in a private house) is taken to the church accompanied by a band. Powder is burned at the street corners. In the church the Infant is placed in a reclining position. Moss for preparing the bed is brought from Cerro Viejo by youths in the same fashion flowers are brought for Carnival.

In addition to these observances, fiestas called *niños gorderos* are celebrated in private houses. A scene representing the birth of Christ is prepared. The Infant is "raised" sometime before Candelaria, and the scene is removed on the 3d of February.

Pastorelas are also celebrated on Christmas Eve. The *roseras* pay the teacher to instruct the dancers, and provide them with *čuripo* and tamales. Each dancer provides his own costume. The group consists of 5 girl and 5 boy shepherds, 3 devils, 2 old men, 2 *negros*, 2 hermits, 1 male and 1 female rancher. They appear to conduct the image of the Holy Child to church, and they also appear on the two following nights.

On January 6 the new *čičiua* goes to church with music and "raises" the Holy Child. The priest takes up the image and gives it to the *čičiua* to dress. He kisses the image and gives it to others to kiss. Afterward all go through

[p. 219a]

Sierra Tarascans

La Cañada

- 796 the streets with the musicians to the house of the *chicua*, who serves *nákatamales*, *buñuelos*, and *chápata*, the men and women of the *cabildo* eating first. During the night there is much dancing of *jarabes*, first women dancing with [text continues on top of p. 219b]

APPENDIX 3

REPORT ON MAIZE

FROM CHERÁN By EDGAR ANDERSON
Missouri Botanical Garden and
Washington University, St. Louis

- 243 Fifty-five ears of maize were received from Dr. Ralph L. Beals, in lots numbered from 1 to 43, there being two ears each of most of the numbers above 30. The ears were photographed, grain samples were taken, and the ears returned to Dr. Beals. In the summer of 1942, 10 plants from each lot were grown at the Blandy Experimental Farm, of the University of Virginia,²⁵ Boyce, Va. Although the planting as a whole was badly infested with smut, at least one good tassel specimen was obtained from each lot and herbarium specimens were also made of leaves and seedlings. Notes on plant color, pubescence, etc., were taken in the field, and the internode pattern of one plant of each lot was recorded. Five plants from the entire lot were investigated in detail, cytologically, and the knob number and knob positions of their chromosomes were determined.

As a whole, the corn belongs to the race recently termed "Mexican Pyramidal" by Anderson and Cutler (1942). Many of the ears and the plants grown from them are indistinguishable (for all practical purposes) from collections made in the vicinity of Mexico City. However, there are certain average differences which seem to be significant, and a few of the numbers are unlike anything we have yet examined from Mexico, D. F. Plants are medium to tall, mostly with conspicuous sun red (occasionally purple) plant color. Tillers are few or absent. The leaves are broad but break easily in the wind, giving the collection a very bedraggled appearance, which is heightened by the susceptibility to smut. The tas-

²⁵ For laboratory space and many other courtesies, we are indebted to the Director, Dr. O. E. White.

[text continues on middle of p. 219b]

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women and later men dancing with women. The latter enter into contests with others. *Pastores* are also sung all night, verses taken from printed pamphlets from Mexico. This is continued every night until Candelaria.

APPENDIX 3

REPORT ON MAIZE
FROM CHERÁN

By EDGAR
ANDERSON

Missouri Botanical Garden and
Washington University, St. Louis

243

sels are large and coarse but there are few tassel branches. The ears are short, though the husks are often very long. The ear branches vary greatly in length, the most extreme being 2 or 4 feet long, with numerous secondary ears. This is partly due to culture in a region of different day length (i. e., Virginia vs. Mexico). The ears are prevaillingly broad at the base, tapering sharply and evenly. The kernels are mostly hard and flinty but are nearly all more or less dented. There is great variation in kernel size and shape, not only from plant to plant but also on each ear, since, owing to the position of the husks, the grains at the tip of the ear are under strong compression, whereas those at the base have plenty of room. It is not unusual to see an ear with the basal kernels deeply dented but with no perceptible denting in any of the kernels at the tip.

Two main types were well represented in the collections (table 18). There were the so-called "Black" maize from Cherán (Nos. 31-37) and from Nahuatzen (Nos. 38-43) and "Tulukénio" (Nos. 1-26), a mountain type grown only above 8,500 feet (pl. 8). A third type, "Trimasión," is grown on the plain below 8,500 feet. It is said to be later maturing, larger-eared, and larger-grained. This was apparently confirmed by our collections, but since there were only two numbers (29 and 30) no averages have been prepared.

The collections of Black maize stood out sharply both in the field and in the collection of ears. The latter were around 15 cm. in length, nearly all of them with dark (blue or purple) kernels which were deeply to lightly dented and were rounded (i. e., not pointed). Purple cob

[text continues on p. 221b]

175 formed a council of elders who controlled
623 community affairs and the nomination of
new officers.¹⁵

175 This is the system which seems to be
typical of Indian-Spanish towns in Middle
171 and South America.¹⁶ It has been best
characterized by Tax for Guatemala,¹⁷
621 where secular and religious officials are
arranged in a hierarchical sequence through
which every man is supposed to pass. Those
who have thus fulfilled their duties toward
the community enter the category of elders
and form a council which holds power and
controls the giving of offices.

A basic trait in the political system of
the Indian village community was the close
interrelation of the religious and secular
aspects of town organization by having
civil officers perform some religious function
or by considering certain religious offices
prerequisite for the civil.

175 Native religion before the Spanish conquest
771 was based on a number of gods representing
the different natural elements, economic
activities, and the social groups formed
by kinship and the division of labor
(clans, trades, towns, etc.). After the
175 Spanish conquest, Catholicism was forced
797 on the Indians and a Catholic priesthood
[774] replaced the native one. A syncretism of
the Indian gods with similar Catholic saints
occurred. This replacement or fusion of
Indian gods with Catholic saints and also
the preservation of pagan festivals by devoting
them to the saints were acknowledged and
even fostered by the Spanish missionaries.

175 Every Indian community was provided
794 with a church, a priest, and a sexton. There
were also two or three chanters and two
fiscales, old men in charge of calling the
Indians to religious services and instruction.¹⁸

175 Very important in this new religion were
796 the festivals connected with the yearly cycle
of Catholic ritual. They were organized
by devout individuals who took care of a
particular festival and assisted the priest.
Civil officers also participated.

175 Part of the native religion not related
771 to the Church rituals survived, because of
the considerable community autonomy, mainly
as private ceremonies or superstitions relating
to technological or life cycle activities
(sickness, for instance).

These aspects of unorganized religion

15. Chávez Orozco, 1942, Chapter 2.

16. For Peru, see Mishkin, 1942, 443-444.

17. Tax, 1937, especially 443-444. The question of land tenure, however, is not discussed. For this point, see Wagley, 1941, 52-56.

18. Haring, 1947, 174.

[P. 17a]

175 others being landless. This condition seems
423 to have been present even at the time when
land was owned by the village, wherever
private property existed within the com-
munity. When private ownership became
general at the end of the nineteenth cen-
tury, the differentiation as to wealth with-
in the villages undoubtedly increased.

Although no detailed statistics are avail-
able for the Tarascan area, the existing in-
formation shows that inequality in landed
property within the villages was prevalent,
although in different degrees, in the vari-
ous Tarascan villages. It has been reported
for the Cañada villages,³⁰ Urapicho,³¹
Cherán,³² Tzintzuntzan,³³ Paracho, Chara-
pan and Jarácuaro³⁴ either for pre-revolu-
tionary or modern times.

The range in inequality is perhaps less
in some small Cañada villages, which have
preserved as communal holding the agri-
cultural lands of the community.³⁵ In a
large agricultural town like Cherán, where
laborers come to work in harvest time from
neighboring towns,³⁶ the differences are
considerable. A great number of larger
landowners rent part of their lands on a
share crop basis to other villagers, and
there are some completely landless men.³⁷

[609] Many Tarascan villages discourage the
selling of land to outsiders, the approval
of the town being necessary for such trans-
actions.³⁸ The increased inequality seems
to have been greater in those places where
selling to strangers took place. At the ad-
vent of the Revolution, this was the case in
some Cañada villages where the largest
landholders were mestizos from neighbor-
ing towns.³⁹

• [796]
[426] The custom by which individuals take
care of financing a given religious festival
also led some villagers to sell or pawn and
later lose their lands. Such was the case in
Urapicho before the Revolution.⁴⁰ In La
Cañada this was not only a factor in has-
tening the loss of lands but also the way by
which outsiders got hold of them, for the
Indians pawned their lands to money-
lenders in mestizo towns.⁴¹

175 In all towns where there are landless
423 people, the latter go out to work in neigh-
464 boring towns or farms, for instance Nahua-

30. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291; Sáenz, 1936, 265-6.

31. Beals, 1946, 131.

32. *Ibid.*, 12, 61-2, 68, 98-9.

33. Foster, 1948, 71-2, 173-5.

34. Field notes.

35. West, 1948, 22-3.

36. Beals, 1946, 61.

37. *Ibid.*, 90.

38. West, 1948, 22.

39. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291; Sáenz, 1936, 265-6.

40. Beals, 1946, 131.

41. Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 291; Sáenz, 1936, 265-6.

771 In the Introduction, concepts of folk and national culture were presented. In Mexican Indian cultures the most distinctive aspects of folk religion are to be found in what we might call unorganized religion, i. e., those beliefs and rituals calling only for private ceremonials which are not connected with the Church and related ceremonial groups; they usually center around technological or life cycle activities. For instance, agricultural rites or concepts of diseases and ways of curing them are fields where more folk culture, and also more pre-Spanish survivals, are found.

771 Among the Tarascans, their connection with national life, greater than that of other Indian groups, has meant greater acculturation to the national culture. Technological rites are almost non-existent. One finds only miscellaneous beliefs about cooking, the hearth, or the influence of the moon on plants. Only corn agriculture has a few more religious associations in the more conservative villages where idols are kept in the cornfield and candles are lighted to them. There are also a number of tales and beliefs about corn and the weather.

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In the life cycle ceremonies the main religious aspects today are those of Catholicism (the sacraments). Only witchcraft and some concepts of disease form any significant part of the folk religion, although they are dominated by ideas about the saints and the Devil, and historically are of Spanish more than of Indian origin.

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Unorganized (non-Church) religion is comparatively unimportant among the Tarascans. Most religion in the Tarascan culture has to be described in terms of the Church, a national (and international) institution with its own ideology, personnel, organization and particular interests. As it appears in Tarascan villages, there is a clear difference between national and folk components of religion. On the one hand are the priest and his connection to the hierarchy; and elements of the cult such as the sacraments, mass, rosary, etc., which follow the rules of the international Church. Other aspects of belief and ritual, on the other hand, though connected with those of the Church, are locally organized and peculiar to the local subculture. This is what we call folk Catholicism.

● 796 The cult ceremonies are arranged after the Catholic yearly cycle of ceremonials. Every ceremonial has the rituals prescribed by the Catholic Church, but the popular form of the cult also includes elements of ritual-like dances, which are peculiar to the folk culture. Many other activities of a non-religious character, such as social gatherings, entertainment and trade, are also associated with religious celebrations.

There is also a folk organization of festivals based on the individual sponsorship of the ceremony or part of it. Sponsors are called *cargueros* and sponsorship *cargo* (literally, office). These cargos are related to the town government and economics, and are the main sphere where changes discussed in this chapter take place.

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782 The people participate in ceremonials as members of the group (town, trade, etc.) which is having the celebration. Personal participation also is determined by a personal life crisis. A person in need of help will ask a given saint for recovery from sickness, or success in travel or any other enterprise. He will invoke the saint when in danger in an accident or will beg for offspring or for finding a lost animal. A vow (Spanish, *manda*) is usually made in exchange for the saint's giving the supernatural help demanded. This vow is often a promise to sponsor a festival or participate in it as a dancer. Even if the vow is of a different nature, attendance at the saint's festival is generally the rule. The devotee will usually go in pilgrimage to the saint's shrine. Often an *ex-voto* is taken which records the miracle performed by the saint; these are little figures of silver, usually representing the part of the body healed (Spanish, *milagro*, miracle); or, (although this is more common among the mestizos than among the Tarascans) a picture is made to depict the miracle and an explanation written (*retablo*). Votive offerings are kept by the image as proof of its miraculosity. Another common vow is to take an ornament for the image, usually clothes. Thus, personal drive toward religion resolves into sponsorship or attendance at a festival.

[532]

796 Folk religious festivals (*fiestas*) and related activities of the cult form the main part of Tarascan folk religion. The description of these festivals and their organization take most of the space devoted to religion in the published community studies.²

2. For example, Beals, 1946, 36 out of 47 pp.; in Foster, 1948, 25 out of 35.

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Festivals of the different saints and virgins are celebrated at the dates fixed by the Catholic calendar. Most important are the celebrations of events regarding the life of Jesus: Christmas, Lent, Holy Week, and Corpus Christi are the occasions for the main cult activities. Only the patron of each town and the cult of the Virgin attain similar importance. In all fiestas, mass is said as Catholic ritual prescribes, and other traits of ritual demanded by the Church are also performed.

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The most important folk additions to the Catholic liturgy are dramatizations and dances somehow related to the festival which is being celebrated. The Passion of Christ is the best example. Certain of the villagers dress as Jews, apostles and other characters of the story, and participate in its representation, which takes place in church under the direction of the priest. Some also police the village so that everybody will keep the precept of not working. In some villages a full stage production is performed. The celebration of Holy Week is most renowned in Tzintzuntzan.³

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In Holy Week there are no dances. In other fiestas, music and dancing are the most important aspect of the performance accompanying church rituals, and outweigh the spoken play (Spanish, *relato* or *coloquio*).

In Corpus Christi and its Octave, the farmers take their oxen to the churchyard and pretend to plow while the other crafts represented in the village also display their work and make little samples which they later throw to the crowd. A mock market and a greased pole also make this festival an attractive entertainment. Dances of the Conquest and of the Negroes, and a May-pole dance (Spanish *tejedores*, weavers) have been reported for this occasion but seem to be obsolete now.⁴

The most important dances are performed during the Christmas-Epiphany season and on the patron saint's day. The dance performed in most towns on the day of the patron saint is that known as *moros y soldados* (Moors and soldiers) or by slightly different words. It represents the Moors' defeat by the soldiers and their conversion.⁵ In some places this dance is also performed on the Day of the Cross (May 3rd).⁶

3. Foster, 1946, 210-214.

4. León, 1906, 463-4; Beals, 1946, 125-27; Foster, 1946, 216-18.

5. León, 1906, 431 ff; Beals, 1946, 131, 144, 156.

6. For Angahuan, see Beals, 1946, 143; for eighteenth century Tangamandapio and Jacoma, see Estado, 1944, 470, 477; León, 1906, 431.

- 796 The plays and dances performed during
 536 Christmas and Epiphany represent people
 535 who comment on the birth of the Holy
 Child and come to worship him and to
 bring him presents. The usual name for
 these dances is *pastorela* (pastoral) and
 the main characters are shepherds. Some-
 times other characters are added, often
 wearing masks, such as old men, savages
 (*apaches*), Negroes, ranchers, the Three
 Kings, hermits, angels, and devils. In some
 places the *pastorela* includes a number of
 these characters, while in others some of
 them perform in the *pastorela* and the
 others form special dances.

In Cherán, for instance, there is a dance
 of Negroes, performed on December 25th,
 another called *melebris* which includes
 Negroes, old men and savages (December
 14-24), a *pastorela* of shepherdesses (De-
 cember 24-6), and a dance of old men in-
 cluding the Three Kings (January 6).⁷
 The only complete *pastorela* which has
 been published (unfortunately only in
 Tarascan) comes from Pichátaro, 1883.⁸ It
 had shepherds, a ranch boy and girl, her-
 mit, angels, and three devils (Luzbel, Sin,
 and Cuning). The first part, performed
 by the devils, is followed by the presenta-
 tion of gifts brought by the other charac-
 ters to the Holy Child. The *pastorela* from
 Capacuaro looks similar for it has first a
 stage play by devils, followed by a dance
 with a play by ranchers, shepherds, angels,
 Europeans, and hermits who act as buf-
 foons.⁹ In another published text (from
 Quinceo, 1912), the characters are old men
 who not only bring presents to the Holy
 Child but also discuss other aspects of the
 Faith.¹⁰ Other villages have slightly dif-
 ferent Christmas dances or *pastorelas*, all
 with different combinations of the same
 basic characters.¹¹

- 796 A dance can become an element of cere-
 535 mony in itself. Taking a dance group to a
 saint can be an individual vow. In famous
 fiestas which draw pilgrims from many
 villages, dancers come to perform for that
 saint although the festival celebrated may
 have nothing to do with the original mean-
 ing of the dance. For instance, *Santiagos*
 (Saint James dance) from Pátzcuaro, *Pas-
 torela* from Zipiajo and the Old Men's
 dance from Cucuchucho (both Christmas
 dances) come to Tzintzuntzan to dance for
 the *Señor del Resgate* (an Ecce Homo).¹²

7. Beals, 1948, 144-154.

8. León, 1906, 433-52.

9. Beals, 194, 154-5.

10. León and Contreras, 1944.

11. Beals, 1948, 144, 155, 218; León, 1906, 435; Foster,
1948, 204.

12. Foster, 1948, 208.

- 796 Different towns have reputations for giving dances in which they excel, and these are taken to other places. Lately, through secularization, dances are performed on non-religious occasions: for instance, the Moors and Christians from Ihuatzio and the Old Men from Cucuchucho performed in Tzintzuntzan to commemorate the establishment of the municipio.¹³

- 796 The organization of the festivals adds further elaboration for the ceremonials. In the case of sponsorships (*mayordomías*) in which the image of the saint is kept in the house of the sponsor (*mayordomo*) the moving of the image from house to house or to the church is also an occasion for celebration. The *cargueros* usually prepare a banquet for other officials, civil or religious, and for the participants in the dances. These obligations are met with some help from relatives and are occasions for exchange of property. Music is played and the dances are performed in courtyards of the houses of *cargueros* and dancers. The change of *cargueros*, including petitioning for office and changing officials, further adds to the celebration.¹⁴

- 178 These affairs are presently in an advanced stage of secularization. Their social and entertainment value is often greater than the religious. Dances are popular as amusements, perhaps more than anything else, the mythical meaning being in many cases obscure. Major festivals have many other entertainments such as fireworks (*castillo*) or bull riding (*jarriepo*).
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[541]

- 796 Also very important is the connection with trade. On great festivals a market is held and people come in pilgrimage, combining their duties with trade transactions. The meeting of people for religious celebrations and market brings further entertainment as occasions to meet friends and relatives and to get drunk. And for the young people it is an occasion to meet and for courtship. Every town has a major fiesta, usually although not always that of the patron saint, which draws people from many villages.¹⁵
517

THE TRADITIONAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CULT

- 794 The organization of the cult among Mexican Indians has always been closely connected with the political and social organization of the communities.
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13. Foster, 1948, 198.

14. For instance Beals, 1946, 133-4.

15. A list of each town's main festival is given in Juchari anápu, 1945.

794 mon property of the *cofradía*, collected con-
 575 tributions and made their own donations.
 621 Thus they financed and organized the main
 743 religious festivals of the community and
 175 attended to the upkeep of the priest and
 his household. The function of taking care
 of the sick, which can be supposed to have
 given the name to *hospital*, was still met in
 some villages but not mentioned in others,
 and seems to have been of relatively lesser
 importance. More important was attend-
 ing to the proper burial of the dead and
 holding mass for their souls.

175 The hospital had a number of yearly
 624 elected officers. The *prioste* was the head
 743 authority. He took care of the festivals of
 the Virgin and prayed for the masses for
 the dead. Under him was the *mayordomo*
del hospital, or in Tarascan, *kéni*. He shared
 with the *prioste* the charge of the festivals
 of the Virgin and as head of the *semaneros*
 took care of the material side of the organi-
 zation. The *semaneros*, or weekly officers,
 were Indians from every section of the vil-
 lage who attended the hospital by turns
 weekly and attended to preparing food and
 taking care of the sick.

175 To care for the Virgin there were a num-
 778 ber of female officers, sometimes young
 624 girls, other times older women; they were
 most commonly called *roseras* (Spanish) or
huananches (Spanish from Tarascan), al-
 though other names were used depending
 on their specific duties. They took care of
 the image and altar of the Virgin, carried
 the image and banners in processions, and
 provided flowers, candles and incense.

175 These officers were found in most villages
 624 for which there is information.³⁰ Many
 796 differences in detail existed from town to
 town, mainly in the particular festival
 each one of these officers sponsored and in
 the nature of the contributions to any
 given festival. The officers attended to the
 festivals of the Virgin such as Conception,
 Assumption, and Candlemas, and also to
 weekly Saturday services followed by a
 procession of the image through the court-
 yard. They also intervened in the organi-
 zation and financing of other festivals,
 mainly Holy Week and Christmas. The
 hospital officers were the main contributors
 for the support of the priest, and they were
 also in charge of collecting and taking the
 contributions from the rest of the village to
 the priest.

30. Modern data from Cherán (Beals, 1946, 133), Pich-
 átaro (León, 1906, 435), and Jarácuaro (field notes),
 show another officer called *colector* as the main author-
 ity, superior to the *prioste*. He is not mentioned in
 older reports.

175 owned a sugar press and a flour mill.²¹
 743 When the village's hospital had good prop-
 423 erty, this financed not only the cult and
 575 fiesta expenses but also other duties of the
 794 hospital officers, such as caring for the sick
 and paying for masses of the dead. In addi-
 tion, the cargueros could use this same
 source of income to provide food for the
 villagers at some of the festivals.²² One
 village had a *cofradía* in order to pay the
 pindecuario and another one to pay for the
 sick and for burials.²³ Some towns had
 more than one *cofradía* or *hermandad*²⁴ be-
 sides that of the Conception of the hospital.

In villages with rich property and in
 which other expenses were met by small
 contributions from all, cult upkeep was
 not a financial burden.²⁵ However, where
 the *cofradías* had no property or not
 enough to meet expenses, upkeep of the
 cult by heavy personal contributions
 placed a financial burden on the villagers.
 In Amatlián, Indian poverty was attributed
 to heavy services for the priest, in spite of
 the fact that there were two *cofradías* with
 their own property. In Tancitaro the hos-
 pital had lost property and the Indians
 paid from their personal resources, causing
 the decline of the hospital although it was
 once very prosperous.²⁶ In the region north
 of the Sierra where haciendas were already
 important and the Indian speech was be-
 ginning to recede,²⁷ the *cofradías* of the
 hospital owned no property (*fondos*) from
 which they could meet their expenses.²⁸

175 The financial obligations of the cargos
 796 were specially onerous and sometimes led
 735 the carguero to peonage. In Tangancicuero,
 794 the prioste became "almost a slave, hiring
 himself out as a muleteer servant [*servi-
 ente de recua*]",²⁹ in Guarachita "very im-
 poverished and sometimes almost like a
 slave in a hacienda".³⁰ In Jiquilpan, the
 mayordomos of different saints bound
 (cautivos) themselves for a long time in
 order to retrieve what they had spent.³¹ On
 the other hand, in Tangamandapio and
 Taripo, a number of fiestas were no longer
 held because of the poverty of the people.³²

21. Tacámbaro (Oaxaca Mé.).

22. Huixtla, Cintalco (Oaxaca Mé.).

23. Amatlián (Oaxaca Mé.).

24. Apetzingán, Tacámbaro, La Guasca, Churumuco

(Oaxaca Mé.).

25. For instance Huixtla, Cintalco (Oaxaca Mé.).

26. Oaxaca Mé.

27. Some towns in this area, like Sahuayo and Guara-
 chita, were of Nahuatl speech but their culture seems
 to have been similar to that of neighboring Tarascan
 speaking villages.

28. Huixtla, 244, p. 100.

29. Huixtla, 244, p. 100.

30. Huixtla, 244, p. 100.

31. Oaxaca Mé.

32. Huixtla, 244, p. 100.

CONCLUSIONS

128 The arrangement followed in the presentation of this material was imposed by the nature of the data. Sources for the different periods or for the national or local scenes were unequal. Thus it was necessary to examine each topic separately (economics and politics, cult organization, ideology) as it changed during the period considered rather than to follow, through successive historical stages, all the topics of Tarascan culture under discussion. A presentation of the latter sort will be attempted in this summary of conclusions.

105 For a point of departure we took the folk culture of the Indian communities formed during the colonial period by a blend of Spanish and Indian cultures. This culture is typical of the colonial period but its basic elements often survived into much later times, and even to the present in marginal areas. These communities were integrated with the economy of Mexico by paying tribute (or taxes), by the market, and by providing laborers for enterprises outside the local community. A great degree of economic autonomy, however, provided in each town a basis for the distinctive folk culture. It was characterized by communal landownership, agricultural techniques based on local resources and requiring the cooperation of all the villagers, the importance of household crafts, little differentiation as to wealth among the villagers, and production, for the most part, for consumption within the village or for the local market.

105 The local government organs were under the ultimate control of higher national authorities, but had a wide range of autonomy.

771 Catholicism, the state religion, was also the religion of the local community, and the priest was supported by the village with the sanction of the State. But an important part of religion was peculiar to the local folk culture: unorganized rites around technological and life cycle activities, and also what we call folk Catholicism, folk acts of the cult, mainly festivals to the saints. A number of officers sponsoring and organizing these festivals were closely connected with the local government.

794 Cult financing was provided for by the produce or communal property devoted to

243 the appearance of terraces.⁴³ Remnants of pre-Columbian terrace agriculture occur in the vicinity of Chilchota in La Cañada.⁴⁴

412 In the small plots described above, the large
243 metal hoe (*azada*, *azadón*, with blade perpendicular to handle) is the principal instrument used to prepare the soil. Although called by the native name (*t'ekáʔakua* or *tarákua*) by some Tarascans, the *azadón* is European, having been introduced into Tarascan culture early in the 16th century. The aboriginal *t'ekáʔakua* (with blade parallel to handle) is no longer used to prepare soil for planting, but, as mentioned above, is still sometimes employed to replant. In pre-Conquest times this instrument (at least in the *tierra caliente*) carried a copper alloy blade (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Cinguacingo, 1581); the *tarákua* with a triangular iron blade is at present employed by the mountain people in the Balsas drainage of Guerrero (Hendrichs, 1945-46, vol. 1, pp. 31-32).

[177] Planting in the *desmontes* and other small maize plots is performed by opening a small hole with the *azadón*, dropping in the seeds, and covering them with earth by a sweep of the foot. The seed holes are spaced 2 to 3 feet apart, but no attempt is made to form straight rows. Maize is cultivated twice (*escarda* and *segunda*) with the *azadón*.

243 *Maize harvest and storage.*—Three maize products are obtained from the field: roasting ears (*elotes*), fodder (*rastrojo*), and mature ears (*mazorcas*, *šanfni*). Roasting ears come mainly from the special colored corns of the house-lot garden, but many are taken from the fields. In the *humedad* lands of the Sierra *elote* is ready by August in the *temporal* lands, in July.⁴⁵ At high elevations (e. g. around the *ranchos* of Cherato) the development of *elote* from corn planted in March

⁴³ These apparent terraces are best developed along the north and west shores of Tzitzik'tzi Peninsula.

⁴⁴ The following account of the terrace agriculture near Chilchota is given in the *Relación Geográfica* for that town (1879):

"... por ser muy pedregosa y de malpais las piedras están guisadas o maseadas como granos durante entre grado y grado con una vara de medir de ancho limpio donde plantaban el maíz, y es así tanto y hecho por tal orden que parece cosa que pone espanto" (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, t. 86v).

[196] ⁴⁵ In some Tarascan towns a minor celebration occurs when roasting ears begin to mature. The first ears picked in the village are taken through the streets by girls, who invite people to kiss the *elotes*. The ears are then taken to the village church and placed on the altar. Later, when all the fields and house lots are in *elote*, girls make special tamales (sktyn) of green corn for friends and the family. The *elote fiesta* is apparently a vestige of a significant aboriginal harvest rite. Other minor festivals occur on the first day of the fall-corn or spring-wheat harvests, but they are usually family days and consist mainly of a "combate," or drinking spree. Often special foods—tamales, *on ipa* (maize stew)—are prepared. There are no religious rites involved in the latter fiestas.

443 professional traders gather at Patamban to buy
438 pottery for the various Sunday markets.

443 Besides the regular weekly markets, in practi-
cally every village lively trading accompanies the
438 annual religious or semi-religious celebrations. In
438 some instances such markets are large enough to
796 be termed fairs. Commercially, the most im-
portant of the annual fiestas is the pueblo's saint's
day, attended by traders and villagers from miles
around. Other fiesta markets occur during the
Corpus Christi, Easter, and Christmas celebra-
tions. Often a particular village, such as San
Juan Parangaricutiro, holds special religious (and
commercial) festivals to honor a special saint or
miraculous event.¹⁴⁸

437 Trading in the market is done mainly on a
monetary basis. Little outright bartering takes
place. An interesting exception occurs at Erong-
aricuaro, where wives of fishermen exchange
baskets of fresh or dried fish for piles of firewood
carried in from the Sierra. Another instance of
barter takes place at the Patamban market; there,
women from the Pamatácuaro ranchos trade
tamales for pottery and fruit.

443 The market takes place in the town plaza, and
when the number of traders is exceptionally large,
some sellers are crowded off into adjoining streets.
Each vendor pays the municipal authorities the
[451] *piso de plaza*, or tax for the use of a small selling
space on the sidewalk. By custom, stalls are
segregated according to the type of article sold,
pottery being dispensed in one section of the plaza,
foods in another, etc. (pl. 14). (See illustration
of Chilchota market in Beals, 1946, p. 84.) Ex-
cept in special markets, such as Patamban, the
number of merchants of fruit and vegetables ex-
ceeds all others. (See Beals, 1946, p. 82.) More-
over, in the large towns professional mestizo
vendors of factory-made clothing, hardware, etc.
are numerous, while the Indians selling handicrafts
are relatively few.¹⁴⁹ The Pátzcuaro, Erongari-
cuaro, and Paracho markets, on the other hand,
are composed of a much larger percentage of
native traders.

444 The village stores.—Almost without exception
every Tarascan village boasts of at least one store

¹⁴⁸ Of interest are the Palm Sunday (*Ramos*) fairs held in Peribán, Zamora, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. Exchange of *tierra caliente* and *tierra fría* products is particularly significant at these markets.

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[439] ¹⁴⁹ At the *Ramos* fair at Peribán (April 14, 1948) at least three-quarters of the selling space was occupied by tropical fruit vendors and sellers of factory-

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944

NU34 Tarasco NU34

Sierra Tarascans

Mexico, while hockey hitherto has not been reported. Neither is there evidence that hockey type games were ever played by the Spanish. Angáhuan, the only village for which the game is reported, is one of the most isolated and conservative Tarascan villages. The games follow: 171
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*Udsukuni.*⁶ The game is played by two opposing sides of equal numbers. Any number may play. Each player has a stick, *udsukarókua*, in either of the two forms shown in figure 1. Mango wood is preferred. The ball, *tarándukua*, is often made of rags, but one made by winding cord about a center formed of a white substance secreted by the green worms of the madrone tree is preferred. The latter type of ball is called *tarándukua šandri*. 526
[237]

The game is always played around a block of the town. The starting point is a street intersection. The two teams line up as shown in figure 2. A representative of each team stands in the center of the intersection. One throws the ball in the air and each player then tries to knock it toward his own team. The winning team must take the ball around the block back to the starting street intersection.

The teams are sometimes representatives of different blocks in the town. The block chief, an official appointed annually by the mayor for each block in the town, names the men who will play. Men so named may not refuse to play. The most important occasion on which the game is played is the day following the feast of Conception, December 8. This day is called *sirángua*. An official called the *kiéni*, who cares for the hospital (formerly a hospital in fact but now the residence of the *kiéni*; and the repository of ceremonial equipment) and runs errands for the heads of the ceremonial hierarchy in the church, makes an especially big ball of rags for the game. Two very large teams play with this ball, playing around each block of the town successively.⁷ [624]
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Akúšperani. Two men play with the same stick and ball used in *udsukuni*. The players start in the middle of a street and each attempts to knock the ball to an established goal.

Aldsukuni. This game is played at Cherán, a large town 20 miles northeast of Urapan. Any number of players compete in two teams of equal size. Each player has a stick, *aldsukúka*, curved at one end and from a meter to a meter and a half in length. The ball, *apásikua*, is made of rags wrapped with cord. The players line up opposite one another according to the numbers engaged (fig. 3). The contest begins in the middle of a block and each side attempts to take the ball to the opponents' end of the block. A representative of each team first tosses a coin or pot sherd at a line. The man whose piece is nearest the line

⁶ The recording of native terms is in the official alphabet now being used by the Departamento Antónomo de Asuntos Indígenas. [104]

⁷ The resemblance to the winter hockey games of the Southwest is very suggestive. Silvia Rendón writes that the game is played daily from December 9 to Carnival and that each block and every man competes during this period. [171]

CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF THE HUANANCHA DANCE AT THE CORPUS CHRISTI FESTIVAL IN PARACHO, MICHOACÁN, MEXICO*

By BERNICE A. KAPLAN

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[167] ONE MIGHT EXPECT in a community which, in recent decades, has seen a great deal of labor migration and the return of these migrants to their native town, that many of the local traditions and folkways would be discarded as more modern ways were adopted. One discovers, however, in getting beneath the surface of the everyday round of affairs that easily meet the eye, that many of the older customs and beliefs are adhered to with great tenacity. It often appears that the actual place of these practices in the structure and functioning of the community is not completely understood by the participants and residents. For example, in the town of Paracho the 533 *Canaquas*, the traditional songs of praise rendered in the native idiom, are often sung for visiting dignitaries. Nonetheless the girls who sing these *Canaquas* do not themselves speak Tarascan, nor do they know what they are singing about. The singers must learn the correct ordering of the syllables by rote from an older woman whose parents spoke the language. Despite this, it is believed that this is the proper way of doing things, and that to do otherwise would mean to lose continuity with the past more rapidly than the inhabitants wish. That the visiting dignitary usually doesn't understand the songs either, is of no concern. Through the singing of the *Canaquas* and the performance of special dances the residents indicate that they are a people with a past and with traditions that are still living, and the visitor in the face of this performance must concur that these, indeed, are a "people."

178 Native dances and *Canaquas*, however, are not everyday affairs. Their performance is limited to times of fiesta: the dances, because they are traditionally 533 performed at these times; the *Canaquas*, because the visiting dignitaries most 535 often make their appearance at such festivities. Inasmuch as the transmission of cultural sanctions from one generation to another is often to be found in 796 dance and music one may expect to find in such performances, when they are associated with particular periodic occasions, remnants of a past which may be difficult to trace in the daily activities of the people. These relics provide, however, a dynamic link with the past which, even if not wholly functional in the everyday life of the people, gives them a framework around which to orient

*Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Michigan Folklore Society on March 24, 1950, in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[122] Aided by a grant from the Viking Fund, Inc., to Wayne University College of Medicine for anthropological studies in Mexico.

178 their more mundane activities. It was therefore with the expectation of a re-
 warding experience that the annual Corpus Christi fiesta was awaited in the
 pueblo of Paracho where the author was engaged in anthropological studies
 during the summer of 1948.

Paracho is a mestizo community of approximately three thousand persons.
 It is located in the Sierra Region of Michoacán, in the heart of the Tarascan
 area. The pueblo is approximately half-way between Carapan and Uruapan on
 the branch of the national highway that connects those towns and is about
 fifteen miles from each. Although the community is rapidly becoming urban-
 ized it still adheres to many of the old customs—to a diminishing extent, to
 be sure, as new ways come to supplant them. The performance of the Huanan-
 cha dance at the festival of Corpus Christi is one such "survival," but ap-
 parently it is coming to have a function somewhat altered from that which it
 had in early Colonial days.

The church calendar notwithstanding, the fiesta of Corpus Christi is cele-
 brated at different times in the several pueblos of the Sierra Region of Micho-
 acán. This is primarily because a large and continuous market is a cardinal
 requirement for a successful holiday, and the travelling salesmen, operators of
 merry-go-rounds, gamblers, clowns, and other personages who help to make
 the market place a center of attraction for a wide area, cannot be in several
 places at the same time. In Paracho, Corpus Christi is celebrated on the second
 Sunday in August and continues for two days. For the community the holiday
 has three main functions: commercial, religious and recreational. In 1948, the
 year in which the fiesta in Paracho was observed by the author, the religious
 aspect appears to have been subordinate. One villager said that no special
 church ceremonies were held in Paracho that year because the Bishop of
 Zamorra and the priest had decided that "it was not good for the people be-
 cause they don't know how to have a nice holiday and they get drunk." The
 clerics were also reported to have said, "if the people can have a nice holiday
 then they can have the church ceremonies (on that day) again." There had
 been special observances on Corpus Christi in 1947, the first year that the
 present parish priest was in residence.

But it was not only the religious significance of the holiday that was changing
 in the minds and activities of the people. Other practices associated with the
 holiday in the past are also receiving less attention than formerly. For example,
 each trade group—an organization of members who work at the same special-
 ized trade, of which twenty-one are recognized in Paracho—used to hire a
 "music" (that is, either a band or an orchestra) which followed the group about
 the town for the two and a half days of the holiday, playing almost all of the
 time. Each group would vie with the others to get the best "music" and to
 have their musicians play the longest and the loudest. In 1948 only five of the
 trade groups hired either bands or orchestras, and a sixth band was provided
 by the mayor of the town. We were also told that formerly it was the practice
 of each trade group to set itself up in the plaza on the second day of the holiday
 and demonstrate for all to see how they worked—making miniature chocolate

Changing Functions of the Huanancha Dance

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beaters, *rebozos* or shawls, ponchos, small loaves of bread, and so forth, and giving these away to the bystanders.¹ This custom was not observed in 1948, although we were told that it had been carried on only the year before. Various reasons were given for these lapses. Some said that the people were tired of the old ways and did not want to bother. One possible explanation may rest on the fact that the priest had a large building program under way and the pueblo's new church was about half finished. It may be that the priest did not wish to divert money from his building program by allowing his parishoners to spend it on lavish holiday expenditures. It would seem likely that there would be less money for the church building program if the fiesta were elaborate, but the opposite argument is also plausible. As evidence of this we were told, a month before the fiesta, that the celebration would, "be like in the old times because they (i.e. the church officials) want to raise a lot of money for the church, and they are sure that if they don't have a good 'Corpus' like in the old days then they won't be able to make much money." This person indicated that it was unlikely that anyone would be very generous if he did not have a good time. Nonetheless, the other view evidently prevailed—at least in outward behavior.

As the time for the fiesta approached, many members of the community "played down" the holiday, perhaps to make the event, when it actually took place, seem that much better. It was also repeatedly said that the political upheaval which occurred a few weeks prior to the holiday—the duly elected mayor was ousted from office by the defeated candidate—had divided the town. The result of this was that several of the trade groups chose not to cooperate in "making" the holiday. Despite both the prior maximizing and minimizing of the approaching fiesta, there was plenty of noise and good fun during the holiday.

It was the mayor's band, a group of from fifteen to eighteen brass and woodwind players who were brought to Paracho especially for the occasion as the mayor's contribution to the fiesta, that provided the music for the Huanancha dances. These musicians came by bus from the pueblo of Ichan, one of the so-called "eleven pueblos" on the Morelia-Guadalajara highway, a distance of some eighteen miles from Paracho. It may be possible to infer from the prior anxiety about the success of the holiday, and from the fact that the dancers were asked to participate only three days before the holiday, that the mayor himself feared he would lose status if the fiesta were not at least in some ways as in the old days. This may be the reason that the presentation of the dance was continued, as one means of keeping the good will of the townspeople. This is purely in the realm of conjecture, however.

The dance of the Huanancha maidens is one of the two special dances performed traditionally in Paracho. It is performed on Corpus Christi, on the day

¹ René Barragán y Luis Arturo González Bonilla, "Vida Actual de los Tarascos," in Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez (ed.), *Los Tarascos: Monografía histórica, etnográfica, y económica* (Mexico, 1940), p. 146. In 1940 the miniature objects were made and then were sold on the following day. "It is said that formerly they did not sell, but that they took them to the church and later threw them away." (Translated from the Spanish).

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535 of Santa Ursula (October 21st), and whenever there is a fiesta for the Virgin.
 796 We were told that the dance is reputed to be of pre-Columbian origin. According to Nicolás León, however, this is not the case. He says, in part, "... The institution of the Guananchas dates from the period in which the illustrious Sr. Quiroga founded the pueblo hospital of Santa Fe de la Laguna in Michoacán ... " León goes on to say,

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 796 The name *guananchecha* signifies to carry, or he who carries something, and is derived from the (Tarascan) verb *Huani*. The office which is performed by those who carry this name justifies the etymology, for they are the women who carry on their shoulders the image of the most saintly Virgin in the processions which occur every Saturday.³

León also quotes from the chronicles of the Reverendo padre Fray Alonso La Rea who, writing in the late 16th Century, refers to the Guananchas in Uruapan. La Rea writes as follows:

I have instructed that a procession to the Virgin of the Conception be made on Saturdays, the image to be carried on the shoulders of four of the most important Indian women, with their garlands and crowns, to the principal church. (These women receive the name of Guananchecha in Tarascan.) At the church the solemn mass is sung, I decorate the church with much sedge and flowers, as if every Saturday were the named fiesta. After the mass the Virgin is returned to the hospital in the same manner.⁴

In the *Pindecuario* of the Parish of San Francisco de Pichátaro, published in 1731, there is reference to the office of *uananchatiecha*, the women carriers of the Virgin. These women in association with other officers of the "Hospital" of this community carried the image of the Virgin about on Saturdays and Mondays. There was, apparently, a feast associated with the Saturday processions for foods of various sorts were required to be brought to the "Hospital."⁴

535 In Paracho the performers are young girls, approximately from seven to
 554 twelve years of age. In earlier days in Paracho, and apparently in several other Tarascan pueblos even today, the Huananchas or Huananchichas had the year-round task of caring for the pueblo's image of the Virgin and of carrying this image in processions. Today, in Paracho at least, all that remains of the earlier practice is the performance of the dance. About three days before the holiday in 1948 the parents of the seven girls who had been nominated to take part in the dance were approached by a committee of men to ask their permission. Certain expenses, such as the purchase of special dresses and flowers for the crown and possibly for refreshments, are incumbent upon the performers and their families, and conceivably some parents might wish to turn down the offer. It is not possible to say with certainty whether status in the community had anything to do with the selection of the dancers. One of those

³ Nicolás León, "Los Tarascos, Notas Históricas, Étnicas y Antropológicas," *Boletín del Museo Nacional de México*, 2a época, T. I, México, 1906, p. 331, footnote 33, (translated from the Spanish).

⁴ *Op. cit.*, *Anales del Museo Nacional*, 2a época, T.III, 1906, p. 307, (translated from the Spanish).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 422.

535 well have been true—for after two days of dancing the little girls were, in some cases, the only ones who remained sober. The reason for this is that following each performance of the dance in a private home the family honored by the performance is expected to offer refreshments, usually alcoholic in nature, for the musicians and the women who accompany the dancers.

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538 Before the fiesta began, one villager said, "We like this Huanancha music because it is very slow and quiet and because it is our music and we know it." 535 He also commented with evident approval on the fact that the dance is very, 178 very slow. After the girls had performed and the holiday was over the same man said that he didn't like the music of the Huananchas now as much as he used to because they dance too fast and to music which is that used for the dance of the Moors.⁶ He went on to say that the music of today is not as it used to be, because the music for the Huanancha and the Moor dances is not supposed to be the same, but now it is. It may be mentioned that this comment came from the clarinet player, the sometimes conductor of the Paracho orchestra, who took pride in the local music. On another occasion another member of the community said that the townspeople always used to have music for the funeral processions, but that this custom had been abandoned in recent times because the music was too slow and sad and made all of the people feel bad.

While on the subject of Tarascan music it is interesting to note that Carl Lumholtz who visited Paracho and other Tarascan communities in 1895, said about the Tarascan music that its "dominant character . . . is sad and plaintive. To a scherzo or a rondo these people would remain absolutely indifferent."

Not all of the people questioned about the music and the dance shared the clarinet player's view either on the music, which he disliked, or on the dance, which he liked. Some of the townspeople made no effort to get to see any of the performances at all and had no desire to see them. One woman, who had spent several years in the United States, said that she didn't like the dance but that it was customary to have it. She didn't mind if others wanted to see it, but she herself didn't wish to bother. Another individual complained that he did not like the dance because it was too slow. Even the musician reluctantly admitted that "they don't do these dances here any more." He added, "Only one old lady in town knows the dances of the Huananchichas and if they are going to dance them then she teaches them, but if not, she doesn't want to bother. She says, 'there is no use'."

171 There are communities other than Paracho which have Huananchas and 535 Huanancha dances. Migrants to Paracho from Charapan said that a similar 796 dance was formerly, and perhaps still is, performed in that pueblo; some said 114 it is called by another name there. The Huanancha dance was performed by residents in Cheranastico, a pueblo about five miles from Paracho, one week after the Corpus Christi fiesta in Paracho. Beals reports the presence of

⁶ Seen by the author at the nearby pueblo of Nauhautzen on August 25, 1948, and described by Ralph Beals, *Cheran: A Sierra Tarascan Village*. Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Publication Number 2, Washington, D. C., 1946, p. 144.

⁷ Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (New York, 1903), II, 388.

Changing Functions of the Huanancha Dance

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Huananchas in Cheran.⁸ There the girls were chosen either on the basis of a vow made by their parents, or else they were nominated by the *prioste*, the woman in charge of certain of the ceremonial round of affairs. In Cheran, the function of the girls was definitely of a religious nature since they were expected to clean the church periodically, to bring flowers to decorate the church and to perform other such duties. Although the dance in which these girls participate, known as a Pastorela, does not parallel that of the Paracho Huananchas, their present functions seem to match very closely what were reported to have been the functions of the Paracho Huananchas until recently.

In 1906 León apparently observed the functioning of the *guananchas* in Arentepácuca for he writes:

On December 8th they celebrated the Fiesta de La Purísima with feather dances, fireworks, and a procession in the Hospital, from which the *guananchas* come to outshine themselves. These are the young maidens of the pueblo, into whose charge is put the care of decorating the altar of the Virgin, and more than that they have the duty of carrying the image on a litter during the procession. For this duty they put on their best dresses and crown their head with a garland of natural flowers. In this fiesta they are present at the church all day, where they remain singing praises to the Virgin in Tarascan.⁹

Beals also reports that prior to 1932 there were in the mestizo town of Chilchota four specially appointed women known as Roseras or Huananchichas whose duties included care of the Virgin, dressing of the image on special occasions, and the floral decoration of the litter on which the image was carried.¹⁰ They were also expected to walk in the religious procession. In these processions one of the Roseras carried a spray of flowers while another carried a pennant. In Chilchota, in contrast to the custom in other pueblos where the office of Huananchicha is mentioned, the Roseras or Huananchichas are older, married women. Although the office of Huananchicha is present in Chilchota there appears to be no religious dancing associated with it in which the office holders themselves participate.

In this same study Beals reports that in Paracho on August 12, 1940, he observed a dance of little girls in the streets and in the mayor's office. In 1940 the church was elaborately decorated with flowers, vegetables and fruit. Saint's images were placed at the four corners of the atrium, and following the noon mass a procession moved counterclockwise about the atrium stopping before each saint's image. At that time, according to Beals, the dancers formed part of the procession.¹¹ In 1948 there was no religious procession. On the other hand, the Huananchichas and their "music" did lead the parade of the bulls to the bull ring on the first day of the spectacle.

From the foregoing it may be seen that the office of the Huanancha maidens is not one limited to the pueblo of Paracho, but that in Paracho—at least by

⁸ Ralph Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149.

⁹ Nicolás León, *op. cit.*, *Anales del Museo Nacional*, 2a época, T. III, p. 468, (translated from the Spanish).

¹⁰ Ralph Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-219.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

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THE LEGENDS

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The eight Tarascan legends have been arranged in their presumed historical sequence. The creation myth is followed by a legendary account of tribal wanderings until the beautiful and abundant land, Michoacán, was reached.

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Next are four love stories explaining natural features of the countryside. The first of these belongs to the period of intertribal wars (1200-1400 A.D.) which eventually consolidated the empire. The second is a simple folk tale explaining the origin of an important spring. Rivalry between political and religious power may be perceived in the third. The fourth reflects palace intrigue and the problems of succession to the throne.

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The final two legends deal with the coming of the Spaniards. The first one prophesies their coming and the second presents a rationalization of the Conquest.

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The legends are preceded by short notes which place them in historical perspective.

THE BIRTH OF CUERÓHPERI

Historical Comment

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The Tarascans, like other cultured peoples of Mexico and Central America, had knowledge of the calendar. In the *Relación de Michoacán*, a work written probably in 1540-41 by an anonymous Franciscan priest, the names of fourteen of the eighteen Tarascan months of twenty days each are mentioned, and for four of the months the corresponding date in the Christian calendar is given (Caso, 1943).

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At the fiesta of *Uazcata cónscuaro* (on June 27,) the chief priest, dressed in full pompous regalia, related the history of the nation and its princes.

535 her and perform a special dance. The circle, the reverential respect, and the dance are repeated until the participants grow weary.

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[131] The Dance of the Viejitos is performed chiefly during the religious fiestas of December, especially in the town of Pátzcuaro, a short distance from the old imperial village of Tzintzuntzan (Fig. 1).

JUST AS THE BIRDS

Historical Comment

175 With their capital at Tzintzuntzan (Place of the Hummingbird),
642 the vast Tarascan empire extended beyond the boundaries of the
131 modern state of Michoacán and, next to the Aztec empire, was the
largest political unit in Mexico. In spite of several accounts by
early Spanish friars (Basalenque, 1886; Beaumont, 1932; Escobar,
1924; Mendieta, 1870; Rea, 1882), perhaps less is known about the
origin and historical antecedents of the Tarascans than of any
other major Mexican group.

17 Traditional Mexican hypotheses derive them from the north-
west, suggesting close affinity to Nahuatl peoples. Philologically,
[197] this theory does not hold up; the Tarascan language has no family
connection with other Mexican idioms and must be classified as
an independent, isolated family (Mason, 1940). Recent archaeolog-
ical work (Brand, 1944, Goggin, 1943, p. 57; Osborne, 1943) indi-
cates a more southeasterly origin, possibly from the Mixteca of
Oaxaca and Guerrero either down the east arm of the Balsas River
valley or along the Pacific Coast and thence northward up the
Balsas, Tepalcatepec, and Marqués rivers into central Michoacán
(Fig. 2).

173 The Tarascans have never indulged in scholarly hypotheses.
829 For them the answer to their early origins and travels unfolds in
[814] the legend of the birds. This legend supports the theory of a
southern origin.

[P. 32]

DISCUSSION

539 Tarascan legends may be examined from many viewpoints, including those of history, ethnology, psychology, and literature. Probably the most important consideration is the basic function they fulfill for the Tarascans—a function so significant that the legends have survived to the present. Only a brief analysis of these factors can be made in this study.

539 As orally transmitted history they leave much to be desired, but they contain usable references which support other data. While one may doubt that the Tarascans originated in South America, as suggested in "Just as the Birds," migration myths are fairly common in the folklore of Indians of the Americas. To some extent they probably indicate dim memories of tribal migrations.

539 The reference in the legend of Lake Cuitzeo to the placing of the warrior's heart in the temple as an offering to the sun god, Huriata, is a reasonably accurate account of ceremonial usages. In early times the Tarascans made offerings of deer meat to their gods; later, human sacrifice was instituted. War prisoners were preferred, and one reason for war was to have sufficient victims. In any event, the presentation of the victim's heart was the choicest possible offering to Huriata.

539 Items of psychological interest include the need to explain natural features of the countryside, as shown in the story of Quiritzicuaró. The change of Candó from a good to a bad priest in the legend of Huanita may refer to defrocked clergymen of post-Conquest times, but most likely it refers to a period of temporary degeneration among the hereditary priestly class during the days of Chief Tariyaran some two hundred years before Conquest times.

539 In this same vein, the legend of Inchátiro shows the depressed psychic condition of these indigenous people as the result of the Conquest. The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature

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DISCUSSION

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The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conquest through the successful teachings of the Catholic church.

As literature, the legends are presented in language which seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta of *Uascata cónseuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these legends have probably become embellished with illusions and atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mood" and the changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the relative isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native provenience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, 1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as marriage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends